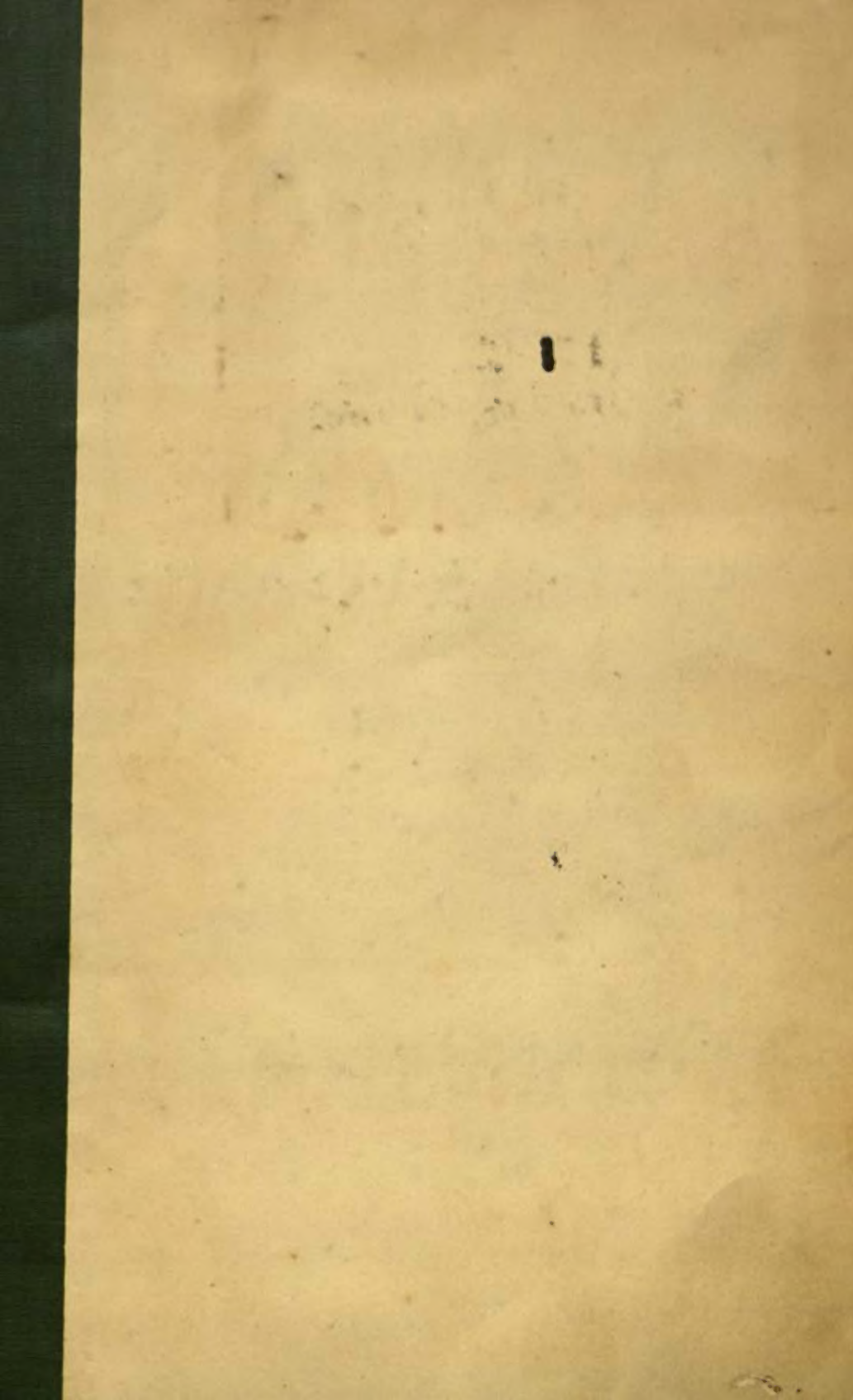


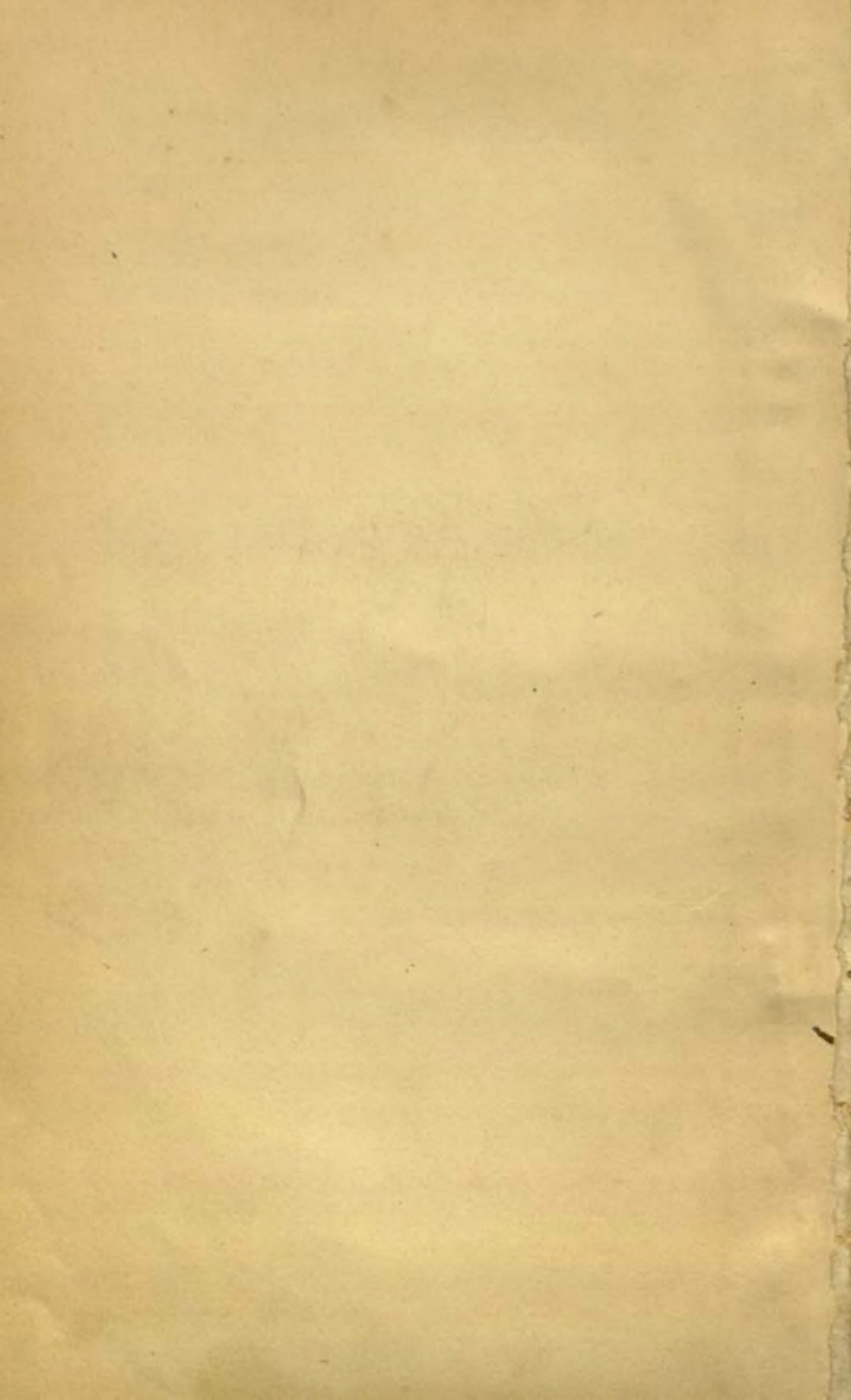
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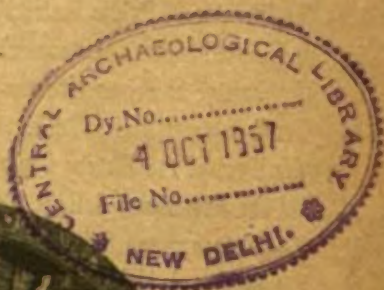
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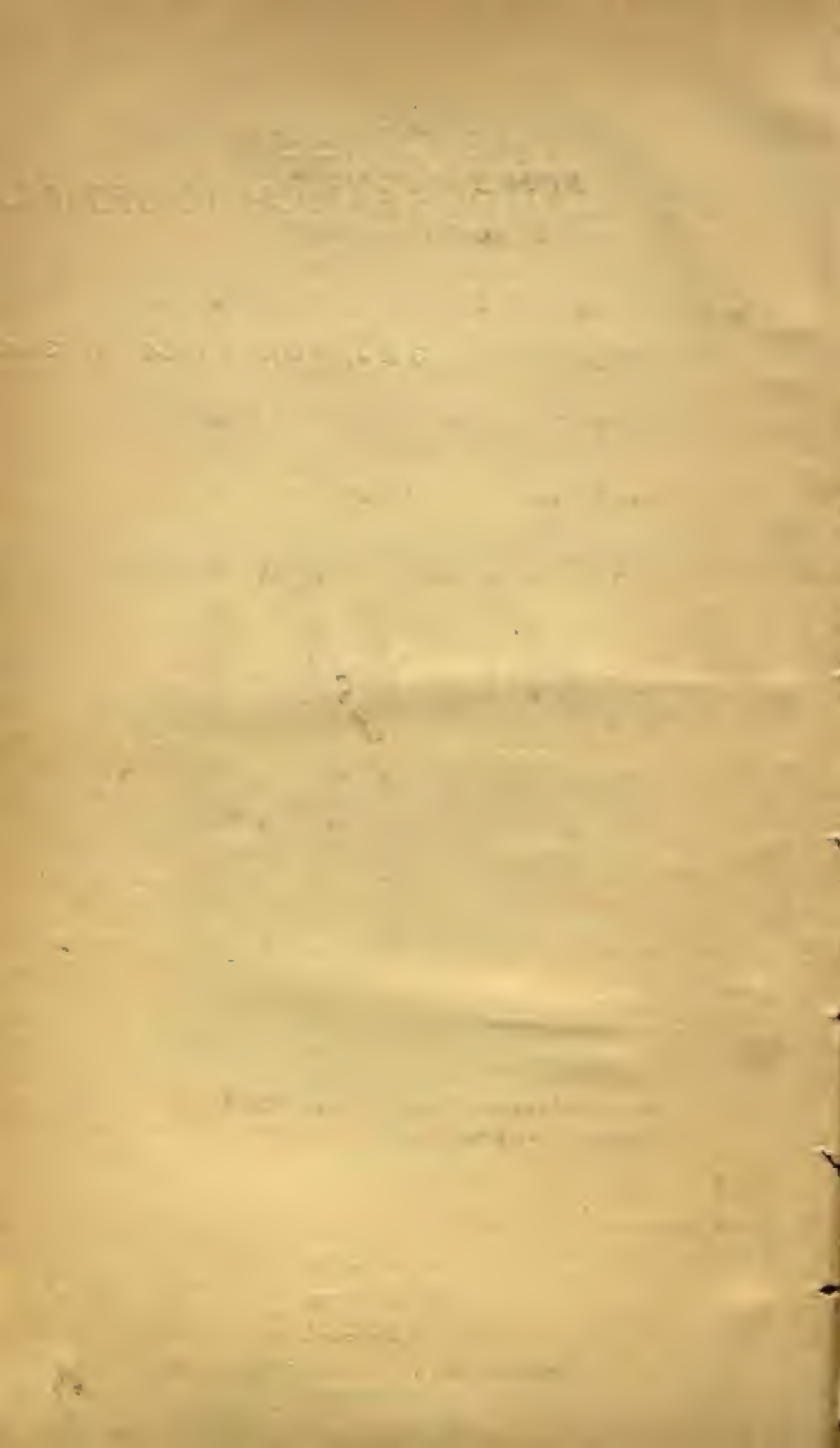
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System of transliteration —

A. Sanskrit Notations.

अ=ॐ आ, १=ā इ, १=i ई, १=ī उ, १=u ऊ, १=ū

ऋ, १=ī

ए, १=e

ऐ, १=ai

ओ, १=o

औ, १=au

(Anusvāra)=ṃ

: (Visarga)=ḥ

Jihvāmūliya=X

Avagraha=’

क ख ग घ ङ = ka kha ga gha ṅa

च छ ज झ ञ = cha chha ja jha ṇa

ट ठ ड ढ ण = ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa

त थ द ध न = ta tha da dha na

प फ ब भ म = pa pha ba bha ma

य र ल व = ya ra la va

श ष स ह = śa sha sa ha

ळ = ḷa

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April 1953

No. 1.

SOME FORGOTTEN SMṚTI-WRITERS OF ORISSA

(2) Narasimha Vājapeyī

By Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra

Of all the old Smṛti writers of Orissa, only Narasimha Vājapeyī could stand comparison with the famous Vidyākara Vājapeyī, whose short life-sketch has been given above'. An humble attempt is made here to present the facts about this Narasimha that have been collected from all available source-materials.

Genealogy: The genealogy of the family of this scholar can be prepared from the short but illuminating description of his renowned family given in seventeen verses after Maṇḍalāchārāṇa in the first part of his work called Nityāchāra Pradīpa.¹ These verses giving the genealogical account of his family are quoted below.

अमत्सरः सत्यमयः प्रणेता
कीर्त्तस्य वंशो बभूववतंसः ।
प्रासाद-मीमांसकः यज्ञपूर्व—
यैनोत्कलो भूषितएव देशः । ५ ।

1. O. H. R. J., Vol. I No. 3, pp. 186-199

2. Published in 1903 and edited by Pandita Vinodavihari Bhattacharyya in the *Bibliotheca Indica* series of the Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

प्रासादे स्वकृते हरि परिवरणासीदमुष्मिन् कुले
मीमांसासार्णव कर्णधारतरुणो मृत्युञ्जयः पण्डितः ।
विद्याभिः सकलाभिरुज्ज्वलमति यः शुद्धिमुक्तावली—
ग्रन्थनाखिल मेव पूतमकरोत् स्वीयं कुलञ्ज्वज्या । ६ ।

अमुष्य पुत्रः किल गोपीनाथ—

मिश्रो गुणैर्यस्य वक्षे वसन्तो

जलेश नारायण नाम योगात्

पुत्रो तु मित्रावरुणा वृषेती । ७ ।

अष्टाहे मुकविर्गते च नवमे तर्काब्धिपारङ्गमो
मीमांसाद्वय सत्प्रपञ्चरचना सम्पूतिर्कृत द्वादशे ।
जत्पैरल्पदिने विजित्य विदिशो यः षोडशोवत्सरे
योगाभ्यासरतः पुराणपुरुषं नारायणः प्राविशत् । ८ ।

सिद्धेश्वरी दत्तवरा स्वतन्त्र ।

षट्दशान्ती यस्यकुलेऽचलासीत् ।

कापीवनेऽहीनमखेऽग्निचेता

जलेश्वरः कृष्णपरायणोऽभूत् । ९ ।

नरसिंह वनञ्जयाभिधावध गङ्गाधरतोऽन्वखण्डलः
तनयाः किल बाजपेयिनोऽस्य च मृत्युञ्जयपञ्चमास्त्वमे । १० ।

जडैतागम मूत्कलेऽवतरयन् संक्षेपशारीरके
कुत्वाकातिक मध्वरेषु निरतः षण्मासदीक्षाव्रती ।
मीमांसा यतएव बृद्धिमगमत् काश्यां नृसिंहसुर—
स्रोतस्वत्पुष्करैक जीवनविधि योगेन सिद्धिगतः । ११ ।

देवानन्दः सुतोऽस्याजनि कृतचयनो यज्ञविद्याधूरीणो
वेदाम्यासप्रयासी परिषदि विजये यः कृतः पण्डितेशः ॥
नानादेशादुपेतः सुनिपुणमतयः स षण्णो यस्यशिष्या
मीमांसा तर्कविद्या श्रुतिशिखरमतं प्रोढ मध्यापयन्ति । १२ ।

अनुजोऽस्य च पीण्डरीकयज्वा

बलमद्रो विदितः श्रुतो नयेन ।

सदुषाः श्रुतिमौलिभट्टतन्ने

किम् स वत्सरदीक्षया कृतो च । १३ ।

अपरेऽपि नृसिंह धूनव इह चत्वार उदारचेतसः
स्वकुलोचित विद्ययोजिताः सततं कृष्णकथा परायणाः । १४ ।

मानन्दपुत्रा बसु तेजसोऽष्टौ वसूतमाः किं वसुधामुपेताः
 यदीय शिष्याद न बाप्तविद्या ये केऽपि तल्लक्षणमशतं । १५ ।
 सर्वेच पुत्रा विगतारिमित्रास्ते वाजपेयादिमखं पवित्राः
 काले वषावद्-विहिताग्निहोत्रा महम्भिराशासित सच्चरित्राः । १६ ।

ते वामदेवान्निध बद्धमानौ
 समाधवो तो भुवनेशवीरो ।

धराधर स्यान् गदाधराह्णो
 रविश्च तेषा मिह चाष्टमोद्भूत् । १७ ।

धराधरास्या प्रथितस्य जमिने-जंगमिवासं कजुषो दशात्मजाः
 गरिष्ठ बिष्नेश्वर नामसंबुतो वशिष्ठ इव व्यजनिष्ठ पूर्व्वजः । १८ ।

मुरारिपीताम्बरवासुदेव-नारायण-श्रीपति-केशवाख्याः ।
 वक्त्रेश्वर-श्रीजयदेव-कृष्णाः सञ्चार विद्यास्तनया नवान्ये । १९ ।

मुरारिपूजाजित विद्ययोजितो मुरारिरासीत धृतिमोलिपारगः ।
 निरन्तरं श्री नरसिंह सेवया* नृसिंहनामा जनितस्य चात्मजः । २० ।

श्रीमद् बिष्नेश्वर गुरोः प्राप्तविद्येन तेनच
 नित्याचार प्रदीपोऽयं नृसिंहेन प्रणीयते । २१ ।

The pueport of the above verses is as follows :—

In the Kautsa family, there was born a great Mīmāṃsaka, who wrote a work on *Time* called 'Satsamiya' and performed sacrifices in different parts of Utkala. In his family was born Paṇḍita Mṛtyuñjaya the younger (taruṇa) who was a versatile scholar and also an authority on Mīmāṃsā. He installed the image of Hari (Vishnu) in a temple built by him, which he used to worship. He purified the world by the compilation of a work called 'Suddhi-muktāvalī' and his family by the performance of many sacrifices. Gopīnātha the son of Mṛtyuñjaya had two sons named Nārāyaṇa and Jaleśvara. Nārāyaṇa became famous as a poet while he was only eight years old; well-versed in Tarka at the age of nine, and wrote commentaries on the two Mīmāṃsā at the age of twelve. This prodigy of learning who could easily

*In the palm-leaf manuscripts of Nityāchāra Pradīpa Part I preserved in the manuscripts Section of the Orissa State Museum, the word 'Saptama' is found in place of Ashtama in verse 11 and the phrase 'budhaḥ Sadānandamanugrasevayā' in place of 'Nirantaram Sri Narasimhasevayā' of the printed text.

vanquish his adversaries in scholastic contests, passed away from this world wrapt in deep meditation at the age of sixteen only. Being favoured by a boon of the goddess Siddheśvarī, Jaleśvara earned mastery over the six Darśanas. This Agnichit Jaleśvara passed his life in Kāpīvana (Kāśī-vana according to some other texts) as a devout worshipper of Kṛṣṇa. Jakśvara Vājapeyī had five sons named Narasiṃha, Dhanañjaya, Gaṅgādhara, Ākhaṇḍala and Mrtyuñjaya. The eldest Narasiṃha or Nṛsiṃha propagated the non-dualistic doctrine of Śaṅkara in Utkala and wrote a vārttika (commentary) on the work 'Samkshepasāñiraka'. He was always engaged in the performance of sacrifices; observed Śaṃmāsa-dikshyā-vrata and propounded the doctrines of Mīmāṃsā. He passed the last part of his life at Kāśī, where he used to sustain his life by taking the holy water of the Gaṅgā only and obtained 'siddhi' in Yoga. He had six sons named Devānanda, Balabhadra and four others, whose names are not given. The eldest Devānanda, who was well-versed in the sacrificial lore, became Chayanī by the performance of the 'Chayana-yajña'. He was given the title of 'Paṇḍiteśa' as he could vanquish many scholars. Brilliant students from different parts of the country, who flocked round him, became masters in Mīmāṃsā, Tarka and Śruti-sikhara-mata (Bhāṭṭa-Tantra). His younger brother Balabhadra who was equally proficient in the Bhāṭṭa-Tantra, and the sacrificial lore, became a 'Paṇḍarika-yājī' or performer of the Paṇḍarikasacrifice. He observed 'Samvatsara-dikshā-vrata.' Like the earth containing eight 'vasus' Devānanda alias Ānanda was blessed with eight sons, namely Vāmadeva, Vardhamāna, Mādhava, Bhuvaneśvara, Vīra, Dharādharma, Gadādharma and Ravi who possessed good character, and were also Vājapeyī and 'Agnihotrī'. Dharādharma who was as famous as the Jaimini Muni of yore, used to live at Jagannātha Kshetra or Puri (Jagannivāsaika-jusho.) He had ten sons, the eldest of whom Vighneśvara was like an incarnation of Vaśiṣṭha. The nine others were called Murāri, Pītāmbara Vāsudeva, Nāṭyapa, Sripati, Keśava, Vakreśvara, Jayadeva and Kṛṣṇa. The second son Murāri acquired mastery in Bhāṭṭa Tantra through the grace of Murāri (Viṣṇu) and due to his great devotion to the god Narasiṃha, he was blessed with a son whom he named Narasiṃha. Narasiṃha received education from his uncle Vighneśvara and compiled this Nityāchāra Pradīpa. The genealogical table of the family of Narasiṃha is given as follows :

Unknown progenitor of the Kautsa family
author of 'Satsamaya'.

Taruṇa Mṛtyuñjaya I (author of *Suddhi Muktāvalī*)

Gopīnātha Miśra.

Nārāyaṇa I (wrote
commentaries on two *Mīmāṃsās*)

Jaleśvar Miśra Agnichit.

Nṛsiṃha I.
Vājaṇeyī, author
of 'Saṃkṣhepa
Śārīraka vārttika.

Dhananjaya
Gaṅgādhara

Ākhaṇḍala

Mṛtyuñjaya II.

Paṇḍiteśa Devānanda Miśra
Chayanī.

Balabhadra Miśra.

Vāmadeva
Vardhamāna

Mādhava
Bhuvaneśvara

Vīra

Gadādhara
Dharmadhara

Ravi

Vighneśvara
Murāri

Pitāmbara
Vāsudeva

Nārāyaṇa II

Keśava
Śrīpati

Jayadeva
Vakresvara

Kṛṣṇa.

Agnichit Narasiṃha Miśra II Vājaṇeyī.

My friend and colleague Sri S. N. Rajaguru published a small Sanskrit Manuscript named 'Siṃha-Vājaṇeyī Vamśāvalī' some 20 years ago³, which contains an historical account of the family of Narasiṃha Vājaṇeyī, popularly called Siṃha Vājaṇeyī. This was obtained from Sri Chakradhara Miśra of Vīra Narasiṃhapura Śāsana near Sakhiḡopal in the District of Puri. It was written by one Vāmadeva Miśra, a remote descendant of Narasiṃha in the last century. As it is deemed unnecessary to cite all the verses of this work here, the few important ones are quoted below while the purport of most of the verses are only given for comparative study. From this it is known that Mṛtyuñjaya, who was an ornament of the Kautsa family, became famous for his munificence and performance of a large number of

sacrifices. He built a beautiful temple wherein he installed the image of Murāri, whom he devoutly worshipped. He was blessed with two sons named Nārāyaṇa and Jaleśvara. Both of them worshipped the goddess Siddheśvari, in a certain forest, who being pleased at their great devotion offered them a boon by which both of them became versatile scholars and poets. Once Nārāyaṇa defeated one Yatīndra in scholastic contest, who being wild with rage cursed him, which brought about sudden and premature death of Nārāyaṇa. Jaleśvara wrote a big work on Smṛti named 'Jaleśvara-Paddhati', which was highly appreciated by the 'Yājñikas'. Nṛsiṃha, the son of Jaleśvara was a profound scholar, immensely rich and very munificent. He was entrusted by the powerful emperor Kapileśvara Deva, with the judicial administration of the country. The verse runs thus :—

Tejasvinaḥ Sri Kapileśvarasya

Kṣhmāpālagoshṭhi-tilakasya tasya.

Nideśamāsādyā vichāraṇijño

yaḥ pālayāmāsa mahimaheshāṃ 15.

Nṛsiṃha had two sons, the elder being Ānanda through his first wife and the younger being Balabhadra through his second wife. Ānanda, gained the sympathy and good-will of ruler of the southern region (Dakṣiṇadeśanātha) by defeating a group of Paṇḍitas and this king out of admiration for his learning presented him with a lot of pearls. Ānanda, who became Chayanī had eight sons named Vāmadeva, Dharādhara and others. Of them Dharādhara, who was a great Paṇḍita, acquired vast property through the grace of god Śiva, whom he used to worship with devotion. Murāri the son of Dharādhara was an 'Agnihotṛī' and an eminent scholar. His son Narasiṃha Vajapeyī became a brilliant scholar, whose name and fame spread through out the country. The relevant seven verses referring to Narasiṃha are quoted below as they give some new information about him which is not found in the Nītyāchāra Pradīpa.

तनुजोऽस्य वसुव भूपवन्धो नरसिंहामिव वाजपेयवाजी

उदितोष्णमरीचि तुल्य तेजा निखिलोर्ध्वतलविभुत प्रतिष्ठः । २५ ।

मुनिजन स मृपास्यां कुन्दवन्दावदाताम्

सतदलतलतस्यां बञ्जिताय प्रदां मः ।

शशिकलधरामाराध्य सिद्धेश्वरीं ताम्

करबदर समानं शास्त्रपट्टकं ददर्श । २६

विजित्यनादेन सभान्तराले तं गौडदेशा गतताकिकेन्द्रं
मूकुन्द भूमिपते जंगम नानाविधानुग्रहपात्रतां यः । २७ ।

दृष्ट्वा स्फुटं निजवंशजानां दारिद्र्यमुर्ध्वतलवृजशयोः
दानं गृहीत्वा द्विजशासनानि विधाय तेषां मूदमाततान् । २८ ।

येन प्रणीतं समयप्रदीप मासाद्य सर्वाग्रिमपारमेन
तमस्तिरस्कृत्य दुर्धर्ममार्गं सुखं जानन्ति जनाः समस्ताः । २९ ।

मीमांसकानां भूरिकीर्तनीयो वेदान्तवेदी सुकविः स्मृतिज्ञः
विद्यासु योऽष्टा दशसु प्रदीप निर्माय योगेन जगामसिद्धिं । ३० ।

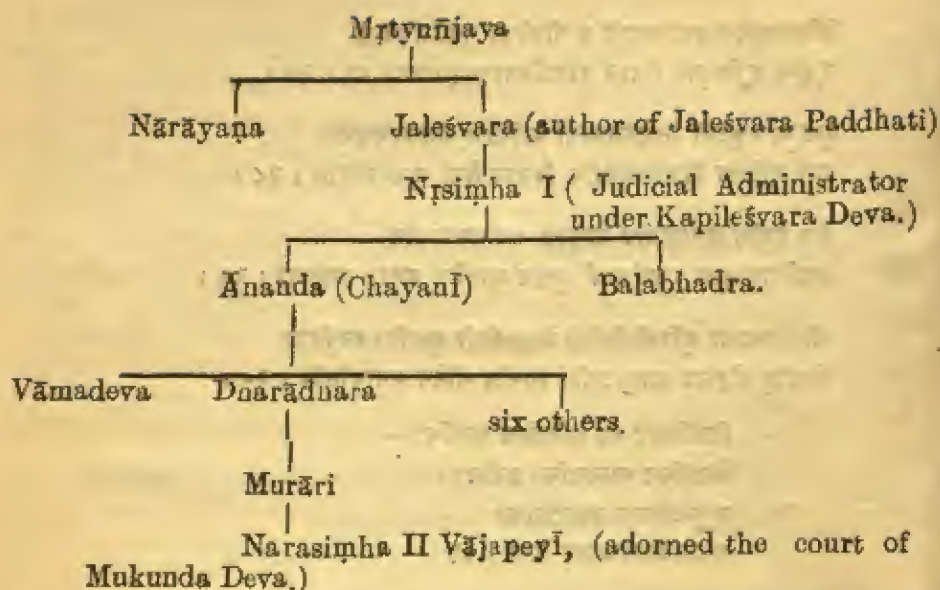
दिल्लीश्वरं यः परितोष्य वाग्भिः—

विद्याभिरष्टादशभिः प्रवीणः ।

मूकुन्ददेवस्य प्रशस्तवान्

समानयत्सर्वजनस्य मध्ये । ३१ ।

It is known from the above seven verses that Narasimha Vajapeyī, who was brilliant like the rising sun earned great name and fame for his scholarship and learning. Through the grace of the goddess Siddhīśvarī, whom he used to devoutly worship, he acquired mastery over the six Śāstras or Darśanas. By vanquishing a famous logician of Gauda by his arguments in the royal court, he could please the King Mukunda, who showed him great favours. To remove the poverty of his kith and kin he accepted gift of land from the ruler of the realm (who was no doubt Mukunda Deva) and to their great joy, he got them settled in some Brāhmaṇa Śāsanas, established by him. He compiled a work called 'Samaya Pradīpa' to remove the ignorance of and to show the righteous path of Dharma to the common people. He, who was highly praised by the Mīmāṃsakas and was proficient in Vedānta, a good poet and master in Smṛti wrote eighteen works on eighteen branches of learning, each of which was called 'Pradīpa.' He obtained Siddhi by the practice of Yoga. He could please the 'Dilīśva-a' (the king of Delhi) by his mastery over eighteen branches of learning and eloquence, whereby the fame and prestige of his patron Mukunda Deva were enhanced and made known all over the country. Thus the genealogy given in the Vamśāvalī is drawn as follows :



The genealogical table given by Narasimha in *Nityāchāra Pradīpa* is more elaborate than that given in the *Vaṃśāvalī*, the main difference being the omission of the name of Gopinātha, son of Mṛtyunājaya I, the progenitor of this family in the latter. The latter also omits the names of the four younger brothers of Nṛsiṃha I, six sons of Devānanda, and nine sons Dharādharma, whereas it gives more information about Narasimha and his forefathers.

The above two accounts about Narasimha and his forefathers elicited from two different published works are further supplemented by the the works both published and unpublished of Rājaguru Godāvara Miśra.* Balabhadra, the father of Godāvara, can be identified with Balabhadra, son of Nṛsiṃha I. Balabhadra was the Rājaguru of Gujapati Pratāparudra Deva of Orissa (1497-1540 A. D.) in the beginning of his reign, whereafter his son and successor Godāvara became the Rājaguru and Mantrivara of Pratāparudra for about two decades. From the *Yogachintāmaṇi* of Godāvara, it is known that his father Balabhadra, wrote two works namely 'Advaita Chintāmaṇi' and *Śārīrakasāra-Purusottamastuti*, and his grandfather wrote

4. The account of Rājaguru Mantrivara Godavara Miśra will be published in a separate paper.

two works called 'Kāśī-mīmāṃsā' and Sāṅkshēpa-Sārīrakavārttika'. It is known from 'Hariharachaturāṅga' that its author Godāvara had written ten works before he compiled Hariharachaturāṅga, e.g. (1) Tantra Chintāmaṇi, (2) Yoga Chintāmaṇi, (3) Advaita-Darpaṇa, (4) Adhikarpaṇa Darpaṇa, (5) Nīti-chintāmaṇi, (6) Nīti-Kalpalatā, (7) Āchāra-chintāmaṇi, (8) Jaya-chintāmaṇi, (9) Sāmudrika Kāmadhenu and (10) Pātāñjal Dīpikā. He was also the author of 'Śaradāś-aradarchhana Paddhati, a palmleaf manuscript of which has been recently acquired for the Orissa State Museum.

From the afore-said three accounts, the following facts about Narasimha and his fore-fathers are elicited: he came of a renowned Paṇḍita family living in some Brāhman village adjoining the sacred town of Puri, which was closely connected with the sovereign rulers of Orissa for more than a century, at least from the time of the famous Gajapati Kapileśāvara Deva (1435-1436 A. D.) till the death of Mukunda Deva (1568 A. D.), all of whom patronised these Paṇḍits; this family played a prominent part in the revival of the sacrificial rituals, development and propagation of the Dharmaśāstra literature and popularising the doctrine of Advaitavāda of Śrī Śaṅkarāchāryya. Thus Narasimha was inspired by the brilliant example set by his renowned fore-fathers and excelled them all, as well as his predecessors in the field of Dharmaśāstra like Śambhūkara, Vidyākara and others in making the greatest contribution towards the development of the Dharmaśāstra literature of Orissa.

Time of Narasimha :—The Vamśāvalī clearly states that Narasimha adorned the court of one Mukunda Deva, who sent him to the court of 'Dīlīśvara' or King of Delhi, where through his vast learning and eloquence the name and fame of his patron were spread abroad. His patron Mukunda may be definitely identified with the Gajapati Telenḡā Mukunda Deva (1559-1568 A. D.), the last independent and powerful King of Orissa, with whom the 'Dīlīśvara' Akbar entered into an alliance against Sulaimān Kararāni of Bengal.⁴ It is known that one Mahā-Āttar, who was unrivalled in the arts of Indian poetry, and of music was sent to Orissa along with Hasan Khān Khazānī to

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4. *Godāvara Mīra and his works* by P. K. Gode, M. A., *The Poona Orientalist*, Vol. IX, Nos. I & 2, pp. 11-19.
 5. *Madras Government Oriental series* No. XVII.
 6. *History of Orissa* by R. D. Banerji, Vol. I, p. 343, and *History of Bengal*, Vol. II, published by the Dacca University, p. 183.

the Rajah of Jagannāth⁷ to carry on negotiation about this alliance in 1565 A. D. These two returned with success after three months to the Moghul court with Rai Parmānanda, ambassador of Mukunda Deva.⁸ The political relation thus established in 1565 between Mukunda Deva and Akbar came to an end in 1568 A. D. due to the death of the king of Orissa in the battle which was fought against Sulaimān. From the above, it appears that Narasimha Vājapeyi was sent to the Mughal Durbār with Rai Paramānanda some time between 1565 and 1568 A. D. In the *Āin-i-Akbarī* we find the names of Nar Sing (No19) and Paramindar (No20) in the list of learned men of Akbar's time. Prof. D. C. Bhattacharyya who made an attempt to trace the identity of these scholars wrote as follows about Nar Sing.⁹ "It is difficult to identify this familiar name without any distinguishing appellation. Mentioned immediately after Rāma-Tīrtha, the name better refers the celebrated Vedāntist Nṛsimhāśrama, another disciple of Jagannāthāśrama, than to any body else."¹⁰

Among other possible names Prof. Bhattacharyya has mentioned the names of Śeṣha Narasimha, Narasimha Bhaṭṭa, and Narasimha Yogī. But Nar Sing of the *Āin-i-Akbarī* may be identified with Narasimha Vājapeyi, with a greater amount of certainty on the authority of his *Vaṃśāvalī* which clearly states that he was honoured in the court of 'Dīlīśvara (Akbar), but no such evidence is found about Nṛsimhāśrama and others mentioned above. Secondly Paramindar, mentioned just after Narsing in *Āin-i-Akbarī* may be identified with Rāi Paramānanda, who was sent to Akbar's court as ambassador by Mukunda Deva, the King of Orissa.

Another important point to be considered in this connection is the mention of the names of 'Nārāyaṇ Āśram' (No15) Rāmatīrth (No18), Madhu Sarsuti (No. 13) in the list with their distinguishing appellatives, (Āśram, Tīrth, and Saraswati respectively), while Nar Sing is mentioned without any appellation. This indicates that Nar Sing of the list does not refer to Nṛsimhāśram, the preceptor of Nārāyaṇ Āśram, who is given the appellation (Āśram) in the list of the *Āin*. Thus Nar Sing of the *Āin* who was one of the learned men of the time of Akbar, and who became very famous in the second half of the sixteenth century, is to be identified with Narasimha Vājapeyi of Orissa.

7. *The Akbarnama*, English Translation by Beveridge, Vol. II, p. 381.

8. *Ibid*, p. 382.

9. *Āin-i-Akbarī* by H. Blochmann, Vol. I, pp. 603,

10. *I. H. R.*, Vol. XIII, Part I, pp. 33,

It is known that Godāvara Miśra, who was the cousin of Dharādhārda Miśra, the grand father of Narsimha lived from circa 1960-1435 A. D. Supposing that Narasimha was born when Godāvara was fifty years old, then circa 1510 A.D. may be fixed as his date of birth and as such he must be about fifty when Mukunda's reign began. From all these available evidences, it can be said that Narasimha flourished in the sixteenth century and was an earlier contemporary of Raghunandana, the famous Smṛtiwriter of Bengal.

Works of Narasimha :—From the verse No. 30 of the Vamsāvalī quoted above, it is known that he wrote eighteen works, each of which was called Pradīpa on eighteen branches of learning. The names of some of these are obtained from the following references quoted below from the two published volumes of his Nityāchār Pradīpa, hereafter abbreviated as N.P.¹¹

- (a) Yadvā chāndramāse hotā × × chaitad VARSHAPRADĪPE prapañchitamasmābhiḥ
- b) Tadasmābhiḥ vistareṇa BHAKTI-PRDĪPE prapañchitamitineha praṇīyate.
- (c) Tathoktaṃ PRĀYASCHITA-PRADĪPE asmābhiḥ
- (d) PRĀYASCHITA-PRDĪPE asmāt-kṛte anusandheya.
- (e) Vyaktaṃ chaitadasmāt-kṛte ŚRĀDDHA-PRADĪPE
- (f) Pāñcharātrānusārenapratiṣṭhā PRATISHṬHĀ-PRADĪPE asmāt-kṛte vistareṇa.
- (g) Sadāchāra × × prāmāṇyamiti ŚĀVARA (ŚĀṆKARA according to some text) BHĀSHYA-PRADĪPE.

Thus Narasimha had compiled at least six works namely (i) Varsha Pradīpa, (ii) Bhakti-Pradīpa, (iii) Prāyascitta-pradīpa, (iv) Śrāddha-pradīpa, (v) Pratishṭhā-pradīpa, (vi) Śāvara-bhāshya-pradīpa before he wrote Nityachāra Prdīpa all of which are still unpublished. The Vamsāvalī names only Samaya-Pradīpa,

According to W. W. Hunter Narasimha was the author of five works named (1) Āchāra-Pradīpa, (2) Vyabasthā Pradīpa, (3) Prāyascitta Pradīpa, (4) Vajapeyī Smṛit and (5) Dāna-Śāra¹². Of these five Nos. 1 and 3 are found in the list given above with the only difference that Āchāra Pradīpa is called Nityāchāra Pradīpa while the remaining three are new ones. From the *Notices of Sanskrit Manuscripts*¹³ it is known that a work called 'Chayana Pradīpa' was also compiled by him as is evident from the verses at the beginning and the end of the work.

11. (a) N. P., Vol. I, p. 77; (b) *Ibid* Vol. I, p. 246, (c) *Ibid*. Vol II, p. 141 (d) *Ibid* p. 301, (e) *Ibid* p. 288 (f) *Ibid* p. 395.
(g) *Ibid* p. 534.

12. *Orissa*, by W. W. Hunter, Vol. II, Appendix 9, p. 206.

13. *Notices of Sanskrit Mss. Second Series*, by H. P. Sastri, Vol. IV No. 84.

Beginning—Śrī Nṛsiṃhaṃ namaskṛtya Kātyāyanamunīn-gurun
Chayanasya pradīpoyam Nṛsiṃhena praṇīyate

End —Ityagnichid Vājapeyī Narasiṃha-vinirmirtaḥ
Chayanasya pradīpo-stu prītaye muravairiṇaḥ

Colophon—Iti Śrī Mahāmahopādhyāyāgnichid Vājapeyī Nara-
siṃha Miśra-virachita Chayana-Pradīpaḥ samāpta

The manuscript of this work written in Oriya characters which was noticed at Śāsana Damodarapurā near Puri contains 1000 ślokaś. Thus the names of nine Pradīpas out of eighteen are known from different sources while the remaining nine are still to be traced.

From the *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit Manuscripts* published by the Asiatic Society of Calcutta¹⁴ it is known that Narasiṃha wrote a Kārikā on the Śrāddha Paddhati compiled by Śa mbhūkara Vājapeyī, as is evident from the verse in the beginning and the colophon e. g.

Natvā pitṛn Kalpataroh pallavairvīni-vadhayate
Agnichinmisra Śrī Śambhūkarena Śrāddha-Paddhatiḥ

Last colophon—Ityagnichit Misra Narasiṃha kṛta Pārvaṇa
Śrāddha-paddhati kārikā samāpta.

From the *Notices* of palm-leaf manuscripts preserved in the Orissa Museum, it is known that Mahāmahopādhyāya Agnichit Narasiṃha Vājapeyī wrote also some small works entitled Gāneśa mānasika Pūjā, Sāmavedīya Vratapaddhati and Śivarātri-Vrata bidhi. But of all his works Nityāchāra Pradīpa was accepted as an authority in Orissa and pushed Vidyākara Padhati to the back-ground. Palm-leaf manuscripts of the 8 parts of this monumental work are still found all over Orissa. Vāsudeva Ratha Somayājī, an eminent Sanskrit scholar of Orissa of the mid-eighteenth century while writing about Rāmachandra Miśra, Guru of Pitāmbara Deva, refers to Narasiṃha and his Nityāchāra Pradīpa in the followingverse.¹⁵

Tasyāsit mallavidyāgururakhila kalā kovidaḥ kovidendraḥ
Miśraḥ Śrī Rāmachandraḥ dvijakulatarāṇiḥ

Kautsavamsāvatamsaḥ
Nityāchāra-pradīpaṃ muniriva vidadhe dharmaśāstrapraṇetā
Turyoyat pūrvavamseshvapi nigamguruḥ Vājapeyī Nṛsiṃha

14. *Smṛiti Manuscripts*, Vol. III No. 2304 p. 401 by H. P. Sastri

15. *Gangavamsanucharitam* (unpublished), 9th Paricheheda, verse 2.

An estimate of Narasimha :—It is not possible at this stage to present a clear picture about his vast learning as almost all his works except the first two volumes of *Nityāchāra Pradīpa* are still unpublished and two others have only been noticed. But an examination of his published works clearly indicates that he was an erudite scholar and a thorough master over his subject. M. M. Chakravarty is right when he remarks that "In fact he brings considerable knowledge to bear upon each subject, and takes considerable pains in elucidating the disputed points by gathering the various authorities and by attempting to reconcile or explain the discrepancies found."¹⁶

Narasimha refers to the following works and authors in his *Nityāchāra Pradīpa* which are arranged below alphabetically. The figures within brackets indicate the number of references.

A. 1. *Agnyādhānam* (1), 2. *Agnimīmāṃsā* (1) written by the author's great grand father Narasimha Vājapeyī, N. P. Vol. I, p. 479, 3 *Āṅgīrā* (2), 4 *Āṅgīrasakalpa* (1), 5. *Arūi* (1) 6. *Āśvamedha Prakaraṇa* (1), 7. *Aṣṭākṣara Kalpa* (1),

Ā. 1. *Āgama* (1); 2. *Āgneyapurāṇa* (6); 3. *Āchāra-pallava* (2); 4. *Ātavi* (1); 5. *Ādi-purāṇa* (2); 6. *Āditya purāṇa* (5); 7. *Āpasthambha* (45); 8. *Āpasthambhīya Dharmaśūtra* (1); 9. *Ātharvaṇīya Tāpanīya Śruti* (1) 10. *Āśvālayana*, (1); 11. *Āstheyāpavāda* (1)

Ī. 1. *Īśāna* (1); 2. *Īśāna-saṃhitā* (2);

U. 1. *Uttarasaura* (1); 2. *Uśanā* (4);

R. 1. *R̥kvedabrāhmaṇa* (1); 2. *R̥gvidhāna* (2); 3. *R̥shya-śṛṅga* (1).

O. 1. *Om̐kāradhikāra* (1).

Ka 1. *Karka* and *Karkāchārya* (5), 2. *Kapila* (1); 3. *Karmavipāka* (5); 4. *Karmavipāka (Śāntatāpīya)* (1); 5. *Śāntatāpīya Karmavipāka paribhāṣā* (8); 6. *Karmavipāka Saṃgraha* (9); 7. *Karmavipāka Sāra* (3); 8. *Karmavipāka (Mahārṇava)* (2); 9. *Karmavipākasamuechaya* (11); 10. *Kalpataṛu* (8); 11. *Kalpataṛukāra* (10); 12. *Kalpasūtra* (2);

13. Kāṅkipurāṇa (1); 14. Kāṅyāvāna (18); 15. Kāṅvāyanasūtra (1); 16. Kāmika (4); 17. Kālanirṇay (1); 18. Kālādarśa (2); 19. Kālānirudropanishad (1); 20. Kālikāpurāṇa (); 21. Kalidāsa-chayani (1); N. P. Vol. I. p. 103; 22. Kāśyapa (1); 23. Kālottara (2); 24. Kāṅva-smṛti (1); 25. Krīyāsāra (2); 26. Kūrmapurāṇa (2) and 27. Kautsa (1);

Ga. 1. Garudapurāṇa (8); 2. Gajendra-mokṣha (1); 3. Gārgya (3); 4. Gāyatrī-kalpa (1); 5. Gītā (9); 6. Gulmakuṣṭha (1); 7. Gṛhya-pariśiṣṭa (2); 8. Gobhila (5); 9. Gobhilagrhyasūtra (1); 10. Gopathabrāhmaṇa (1); 11. Gautama (31); 12. Gautamiya (1); 13. Grahayājña Prakaraṇa (1);

Gha. 1. Ghatanāgama (5);

Cha. 1. Chandrikā (1); 2. Chintāmaṇi and Chintāmaṇikāra (2)

Chha. 1. Chhandogabrāhmaṇa (1); 2. Chhandogānukramaṇī (1); 3. Chhandogapariśiṣṭa (30); 4. Chhāgaleya (5);

Ja. 1. Jābāla (5); 2. Jābālopanishad (1); 3. Jātukarṇya (2); 4. Jaimini (5); 5. Jyotiṣśāstra (5); 6. Jyotiṣsiddhānta (1).

Ta. 1. Tantrarāja (1); 2. Tantraratna (1); 3. Tattvasāra-saṃhitā (5); 4. Tattvasāgarasaṃhitā (2); 5. Tāntrikapadaṇṭi (1); 6. Tāpani-avārttika (1); 7. Tāpanīyaś-uti (2); 8. Tripurāsāra (2); 9. Tripurāsāra-samuchchaya (2); 10. Tulasi-prakrama (1); 11. Taitarīyaśruti (2).

Da. 1. Dakṣha (14); 2. Dakṣasṃti (2); 3. Dānasāgara (1); 4. Dānadharma (2); 5. Dānaviveka (1); 6. Dānaprakāśa (2); 7. Dālavya (3); 8. Dākṣiṇātya-nibandha (1); 9. Deva (30); 10. Devendrāśrama (2); 11. Devīpurāṇa (21); 12. Devīmahātmya (15);

Dha. 1. Dhaumya (1);

Na. 1. Narasimhapurāṇa (15); 2. Nandī-purāṇa (4); 3. Nārada (16); 4. Nārada-kalpa (1); 5. Nārādīya (1); 6. Nārada-pañcharātra (1); 7. Nāradasṃti (1); 8. Nārāyaṇopaniṣad (1); 9. Nighaṇṭu (1); 10. Nigama (2); 11. Nigama-pariśiṣṭa (1); 12. Nīlasarasvatī (1); 13. Nīsimhamahātmya (1); 14. Nīsimha-kalpa (1);

Pa. 1. Pañcharātra(7); 2. Pañchratna(1); 3. Padmapurāṇa(14); 4. Parāśara (6); 5. Paśuvaktra (1); 6. Pāraskara (9); 7. Pāṇini (-); 8. Pitāmaha 2; 9. Piṅgalārama (1); 10. Piṅgalāmata (1); 11. Pura-
ṣcharaṇa-chandrikā (1); 12. Purushottama Mañātmya (2); 13. Pulastya (1); 14. Pūjālikāra (1); 15. Pūrvatapaṇīyopaniṣad(2); 16. Paithinasi(24); 17. Pratishṭhā-āra(1); 18. Pratishṭhārama(1); 19. Pratishṭhā-Pradīpa (by the author himself) (1); 20. Prachotā (2); 21. Prajāpati(1); 22. Prabhāsa-khaṇḍa 2; 23. Prapañcha-āra (12); 24. Prāchīna padhati (1); 25. Pravaśchitta prakaraṇa (2); 26. Prāyaśchitta-Pradīpa (by the author himself)(2);

Ba. 1. Bubbṛu (1); 2. Bahṛchapariśiṣhaṭa (1); 3. Bahṛcha-
grhya (1); 4. Baudhāyana (48); 5. Brahmapurāṇa (27); 6. Brahma-
vaivartta (2); 7. Brahmopanishat (1); 8. Brahmāṇḍapurāṇa (14); 9. Brāhma Siddhānta; 10. Brahmasūtra(1); 11. Brāhmaṇa
Samhitā(1);

Bha. 1. Bhagavat-Gītā (1); 2. Bhaṭṭa and Bhaṭṭapāda (9); 3. Bhaṭṭāchārya (13); 4. Bhaviṣhya Purāṇa (30); 5. Bhaviṣhyot-
tara (4); 6. Bhakti Pradīpa (written by the author himself) (1); 7. Bharadvājasūtra (1); 8. Bhārgavasamhitā (3); 9. Bhāradvājīya-
bhāṣhya (1); 10. Bhāskarāchārya (-); 11. Bhāṣyakāra (1); 12. Bhūpālanibandha (1); 13. Bhojā Paddhati (1).

Ma. 1. Manu (146); 2. Mantrāgama (5); 3. Mantrasamhitā(1); 4. Mantarāja (1); 5. Mantradeva Prakāśikā (1); 6. Maṇḍana
Miśra (3); 7. Matsya Purāṇa (2); 8. Mahabharata (34); 9. Mahā-
rṇava and Mahārṇavakāra(2); 10. Mahābbāṣhya (6); 11. Maya (1); 12. Maya-Saṃgraha 2; 13. Mahāguru (1); 14. Marīchi (8); 15. Māhādānādhikāra (1); 16. Mādhavāchārya (-); 17. Mādha-
vīya (2); 18. Mādhavasvāmī (1); 19. Māḍiyandīna Smṛti (1); 20. Mārkaṇḍeya (1); 21. Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa (18); 22. Māṇava(3); 23. Mīmāṃsā (1); 24. Medhātithi (6); 25. Maitrāyaṇīya
Parīśiṣṭa (2); 26. Mohana-chūḍottara (1);

Ya. 1. Yama (1); 2. Yamaśāṅkhau (1); 3. Yamavaśiṣṭhan (1); 4. Yājñapāśva (1); 5. Ya yurvidvāna (2); 6. Yājñavalkya (11); 7. Yājñavalkya-kalpa (1); 8. Yagīśvara (1); 9. YogīYājñavalkya (33); 10. Yogasibiya (5);

Ra. 1. Ratnākara (1); 2. Rasāla-sikharinī (2); 3. Rāmā-
yaṇa(5); 4. Rāja-mārtanḍa (1); 5. Rāmavājapeyī (1); N. P.Vol. I,
p. 151.

La. 1. Lakṣhaṇa-Saṃgraha (1); 2. Lakṣmīdhara (27); 3. Lakṣmī Pratishṭhādhikāra(1); 4. Laghu Vyāsa (5); 5. Laghu

Hārīta(3); 6. Lāghu Āpastambha(1); 7. Lāta-Sūtra (1); 8. Līnga-kāṇḍa(1); 9. Līngapurāṇ (3);

Va. 1. Vaśishṭha (39); 2. Vaśishṭha-yoga (1); 3. Vaśishṭha-saṃhitā(1); 4. Vaśishṭha-Kalpa (1); 5. Vatsa(1); 6. Varshapradīpa (by the author himself) (1); 7. Valāvalādhikarāṇa (1); 8. Vānana-purāṇa(4); 9. Varāṇa (10); 10. Vārāṇī-Tantra (1); 11. Vārtika (2); 12. Vārtika-kāra (4); 13. Vāyupurāṇa (15); 14. Vāyusaṃhitā (1); 15. Vijnāneśvara (13); 16. Vijnānalalīta (4); 17. Viśvakarmā (2); 18. Viśvāmitra (2); 19. Viśvāmitra-kalpa (1); 20. Viśvāmitra-Gāyatrīkalpa (2); 21. Vidyākara Vājaṇeyī (2); 22. Vidyākara-Paddhati (9); 23. Vishnu (46); 24. Vishnudharma (7); 25. Vishnu-dharmottara (23); 26. Vishnupurāṇa (40); 27. Vishnurahasya (4); 28. Vishnu Nāradau (1); 29. Vishnu-sahasranāma (1); 30. Vishnu-gupta (1); 31. Vṛhaspatī (27); 32. Vṛhaṭkālottara (2); 33. Vṛddha-Atri(1); 34. Vṛddha-Manu (3); 35. Vṛddha-Gārgya(2); 36. Vṛddha-Parāśara (3); 37. Vṛddha-Vaśishṭha (2); 38. Vṛddha Jānavaalkya (1); 39. Vṛddha-Sātātapa (4); 40. Vṛddha-Gautama (1); 41. Vairāṇīka(1); 42. Vaidyaśāstra(1); 43. Vaishnavāroha-Pratīṇā by Chandra Śarmā; 44. Vyāsa (17); 45. Vyāghrapāda (2);

Śa. 1. Śātānanda (6); 2. Śāvarasvāmī (1); 3. Śāṅkarāchārva (3); 4. Śatapathaśruti(2); 5. Śāṅkha(19); 6. Śāṅkhyā Likhitau(29); 7. Śātātapa (18); 8. Śātātapiya karmavipāka (1); 9. Śāvarabhāshya (20); 10. Śāvarabhāshya Pradīpa (written by the author) (1); 11. Śrāddha Pradīpa (1) (written by the author)(1); 12. Śāthyāyana (1); 13. Śāradā-Tilaka (10); 14. Śāradāyām (5); 15. Śvapurāṇa (18); 16. Śivagītā (1); 17. Śiva Dharma (2); 18. Śivarahasya (1); 19. Śiṣṭhaś (24); 20. Śīdhara (1); 21. Śūnapuchhoḥha (1); 22. Śuddhiguchhoḥha (1); 23. Śuddhichandrikā (1); 24. Śuddhi-Muktāvalī (written by the author's remote fore-father) (1); 25. Śruti (1); 26. Śloka-gautama (1); 27. Śaunaka (1);

Sa. 1. Satsamaya (1) written by his fore-father; 2. Saṃvarta (6); 3. Skanda-purāṇa (39); 4. Sāhityaśāstrā (1); 5. Sāṅkhyāyana Grhyasūtra (3); 6. Śoṇādhikāra (1); 7. Śoṇāpurakaraṇa (1); 8. Sumantu (6); 9. Suvarṇadanādhikāra (1); 10. Sureśvara Āchārva (1); 11. Sureśvara Vārttika (1); 12. Sūrya Siddhānta (2); 13. Sūnakāraśāstra (1); 14. Smṛti (8); 15. Smṛti-ratnamālā (1); 16. Smṛtiratnamālākāra (1); 17. Smṛti-mīmāṃsā (1); 18. Smṛtis-muchchaya (2); 19. Somaśambhū Tantra (1); 20. Saurakāṇḍa (3).

Sha. 1. Shat-triṃśa-smata (4);

Ha. 1. Hayaśīrsha (10); 2. Hārīta (38); 3. Hemādri (4); 4. Holādhikarāṇa (1).

KALINGA UNDER THE NANDAS

(By AMAR CHAND, M. A.,)

A certain Nandarāja is twice mentioned in the famous Hāthi-gumphā Inscription of Emperor Khāravela of Kalinga.¹ The Inscription, a record of events in the fourteen years of the Emperor's reign, has been badly preserved. Considerable portions of it have been damaged, so that both readings and interpretations of many a passage have become uncertain. The record, in its present state, therefore, can be used as a basis for history only with the utmost caution.

Identification Of 'Nandaraja'

Now, the first problem is the identification of 'Nandaraja', and also the dynasty to which he belonged. Dr. K. P. Jayaswal at one time placed Khāravela three centuries after Nandaraja whom he identified with Nandivardhana. According to the Jaina tradition, Nandarāja was proclaimed king after Udayin's assassination and sixty years after the Nirvāṇa of Lord Mahāvīra.² But Nandivardhana was a Śaiśunāga king, and the Śaiśunāgas do not appear to do anything with Kalinga at all. On the contrary, the Kalingas appear in the Purāṇas among the contemporaries of the Śaiśunāgas who were overpowered by a Nanda king with epithet 'Sarvakshatrāntaka.'³ It is not Nandivardhana, but Mahāpadma Nanda, who is credited to have brought the entire land under his sole sway and also uprooted all the Kshatriyas—rather the old reigning-houses. We should, hence, identify Nandarāja of the Hāthi-gumphā Inscription, who held possession of Kalinga, with all-conquering Mahāpadma Nanda or one of his sons.

1. Line 6, नन्दराज त्रिवससत बोधाटितं . . . पणदि

L. 13, नन्दराज नातं च कलिग-जिनं स निवेस.

2. *Parīśiṣṭa Parvan* vi, 2:37.

3. H. C. Raychaudury, *Political Hist. of Anc. Ind.* 1950 p. 229f.

Prof. B. M. Barua, on the other hand, objects to the identification of Nandarāja with a king of the pre-Maurryan Nanda line on the ground that in the Asokan inscriptions it is claimed very clearly that Kalinga remained unconquered (*avijita*) till the 7th year of Aśoka's reign.¹ But such claims of the Mauryan Secretariat are perfectly at par with Gupta boasts. Samudragupta, for instance has been called 'ajitarājajetā' i. e. conqueror of unconquered kings.² In the later medieval period, Emperor Jahangir boasts that not even one of the Sultans of lofty dignity has obtained a victory over Kangra.³ The term *avijita* may, therefore, simply refer to the fact that Kalinga was not included within the limits of Asokan *vijita* empire, or *rājavishaya* i. e. royal dominions. Such claims, if taken too literally, will appear to have very little of substance in them.

The suggestion of Prof. Rapson that Nandarāja may have been a local ruler of Kalinga⁴, is negatived by the internal and positive evidence in the Hāthigumphā Inscription itself. The passage meaning that 'Nandarāja came and took away the image of Kalinga-Jina' proves clearly that he was an outsider and did not belong to the Kalinga country, otherwise the question of taking away the image of Jina could not arise at all. Secondly, a post-Asokan neo-Nanda line of Magadha is also unknown to any sober historian.⁵

The Puranic tradition records that when 32 kings of Kalinga had reigned, Mahāpadma Nanda rose and exterminated the Kshatriyas. This evidently suggests that between the period of the Mahābhārata war and the conquest of Northern India by Mahāpadma Nanda of Magadha, 32 kings reigned in Kalinga for 1050 or 1111 years. Prof. R. D. Banerji takes it to be the first dynasty of Kalinga rulers. The average reign of each king would be 31.75 or 32.812 years and this average, according to him⁶ is certainly not too much.⁷

Mahāpadma Nanda, as already stated, has been called Sarvakshatrāntaka i. e. the destroyer of all the Kshatriyas, and

1. *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XIV, 1938, p. 259 f.

2. J. Allan, *Catalogue of the Gupta Coins*, p. CX.

3. Rogers, *Tuzuk*, II, 184, also A. S. I. A. R., 1905-6, p. 11.

4. *Cambri'ge History of India*, Vol. I, p. 508.

5. A later Nanda or Nandobhava line is, however, known to Epigraphy. But it ruled in Orissa itself, and hence the question of taking away the image of Kalinga Jina to Magadha does not arise in this case. (*Epi. Ind.*, xxi, App. 2, 43.).

6. *History of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 59.

Ekarāj or the sole monarch of the Earth. This might imply that he subjugated all the Kshatriya-houses which ruled contemporaneously with the Śiśunāgas, viz. the Aikshvākus, the Pāṇchālas, the Kāśīs, the Hāhīyas, the Kāṇḍīyas, the Āśmākas, the Kurus, the Maithilas, the Śūrasenās, the Vitihotras etc. etc.

Greek writers tell us that Alexander was stopped in his advance at the Hyphasis in B.C. 326, and was informed that therefrom began the kingdom of the king of Gangaridao and Prasii nations possessing a huge force of 20,000 horses, 200,000 foot, 2,000 chariots, 3,000 or 4,000 elephants. The reigning king was alleged to be extremely unpopular owing to his wickedness and base origin. He had, it is said, great greed for wealth. The entire statement would refer to Dhanananda, the last of the Nandas. The fact that his dominions touched the Beas river in the East Punjab might support vast conquests of the Nandas. Conquests of some of the territories, occupied by the tribes and clans mentioned above, does not necessarily mean the total extinction of the old ruling houses but merely a deprivation of their yaśa i.e. glory, and an extension of suzerainty of the conqueror.

The Jains too allude to wide dominions of the Nandas.¹ The existence on Godavari river of a city called Nau-Nanda Dehra (Nander) also suggests that the Nanda-dominions had once embraced a considerable portion of the Deccan, and therefore of the Kāṇḍīya country also.²

References to Nandarāja considered

With the Nanda family, we reach a stage of the East Indian History when the indubitable evidence of Inscriptions becomes available to supplement the information gleaned from traditional literary sources. But the reign of the Nandas, on the whole, is one of the darkest even of the many hopelessly dark epochs in the history of Ancient India.

As already pointed out, the Hāthi-gumphā Inscription of Emperor Khāravēla twice mentions Nandarāja in connection with Kāṇḍīya. In the first place it mentions in line 6 "And, then in

1. समुद्रसन्देश्य प्राप्तमुद्रमपिप्रिय, उपाय हस्तराकृत्य ततः सोकृत नन्दराजं
परिनिष्ठ पदे [VII. 81.
2. The ascription of this city to the later Nandas or Nandodbhava line, known to Epigraphy, may also not be improbable.

the fifth year (Khāravēla) caused the canal opened out by king Nanda 103 (or 300) years before.¹ It is clear from this that in the fifth year of his reign, Khāravēla executed a public work which was associated with the memory of king Nanda. Defferent versions of this passage depend chiefly, though not solely, upon translation of 'ti-vasa-sata'. The following renderinges have been proposed:

1. "He opened the three-yearly alm-house of Nandarāja", as translated by Indrajī in the International Oriental Congress Proceedings, Leiden, 1884, Pt. 3, p.135. He took *sata* as *sattara* which is equivalent to *satra* in Sanskrit, and it means alms-house. But this rendering is not accepted by scholars now.
2. "He has an aqueduct conducted into the city which had been used for 103 years since king Nanda." This translation has been proposed by Prof. Luders in *Epi. Indica*. X, App. 1345 p. 151. He took *sata* to be *śata* which means 'hundred'.
3. "He brings into the capital the canal excavated by king Nanda 300 years before", as proposed by K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji, in *J.B.O.R.S.* Vol. III, 1917, p. 42 f.

Now, according to K. P. Jayaswal, the year in this passage may be taken as to the Nanda era referred to by Al-Biruni in *Tahqiq-i-Hind*. Pargiter places accession of the first Nanda ruler approxi. in B. C. 402, calculating back from the accession of Chandragupta Maurya in B. C. 322 by adding 80 years as the duration of the reign period of the nine Nanda kings. According to this estimate the canal excavated by the Nanda king in Kalinga would be in (402-103) B. C. 299. But then it would be too late to ascribe the public work to Mahāpadma Nanda. Even if we take the Puranic account of one hundred years as the duration of the nine Nandas, (i.e. 88 years for Mahāpadma Nanda and 12 years for his sons), then we reach B. C. 319 as the year of excavation of the aqueduct, which too is absurd ($322+100-103=B. C. 319$). Prof. R.D. Banerji believes that the canal may have been excavated by the first king of the Nanda dynasty 103 years before the fifth year of Khāravēla's reign, viz. 108 years before his nccession. Agreeing with K. P. Jayaswal, he takes the era to be counted from B. C. 458. Hence the canal was excavated, according to him, in B. C. 355, say at least

1. Original: पञ्चमे चे दानि वसे नन्दराज त्रिचसप्त ओषादित...पषादि...

33 years before the accession of Chandragupta Maurya. Here the learned Professor appears to have taken the figure 103 to express not the interval between Nandarāja and Khāravela, but a date during the reign of Nanda which may have reckoned from some pre-existing era. But use of any such era in any particular part of the country or epoch is not proved. Khāravela himself, like Asoka, uses regnal years and not any era.

Dr. H. C. Raychaudhuri¹ on the other hand suggests that the interpretation of *ti-vasa-sata* accords substantially with the Puranic tradition, regarding the interval between the Nandas and the dynasty to which Śātakarni, the contemporary of Khāravela in his second regnal year, belonged, (i.e. 137 years for the Mauryas, 112 years for the Śungas and 45 years for the Kāṇavas) was say 294 years. If the expression is taken to mean 105 years, Khāravela's accession must be placed (103-5=) 98 years after Nandarāja. His elevation to the position of Yuvarāja took place nine years before that (i.e. 98-9=89 years after Nandarāja, or not later than 24-89=B. C. 23). Khāravela's senior partner in the royal office was on the throne at that time, and he may have had his predecessor or predecessors. But we learn from the Asokan inscriptions that Kalinga was actually governed at that time by a Maurya Kumāra and not by a Kalinga *Adhipati* or a *Chakravarti*, under the suzerainty of Asoka. Therefore *ti-vasa-sata* may be understood to mean 300 and not 103 years.

The second reference to Nanda king is to be found in line 12 which means "(Khāravela) brought back the image of Kalinga-Jina which had been carried away by Nandarāja." Here Nandarāja is charged with having taken away the image of a Jain Tīrthaṅkara to Magadha, from where the same was brought back by Khāravela. This shows that the image was well-preserved by Nandarāja, so that it was there till the time of Khāravela. This would suggest that Nandarāja was a believer in the faith of the Jina. Literary traditions also confirm that the Nandas were followers of the Jain religion. Therefore, once again Nandarāja

1. Political History of Ancient India, 1950 p. 229f.

2. Original : नन्दराज नीतं च कालिङ्ग-जिनं सन्निवेश ।

—“सन्निवेश” is explained in Dictionaries as an assemblage, station, seat, open space near a town etc. (Monier William's). A commentator takes it to mean a halting place for a caravan or procession. Kuṇḍagrāma for instance was a in the Videha country. (S. B. E. xxii. Jaina Sūtras. Pt. I, Introduction).

of the inscription must be identified with a ruler of the Nanda-house, which was uprooted by Chandragupta Mayurya, in B. C. 322 or nearabout.

The above discussions prove that the Nandas had conquered and bought the adjoining territory under their sway. It would be in the fitness of circumstances to believe that a great conqueror, Mahāpadma Nanda, to whom the Purāṇas ascribe the subversion of all kṣatriya kingdoms, put an end to the Home-rule in Kalinga also.

Prevalence of Jainism In Kalinga

The reference to Nandarāja as having taken away the image of Jina from Kalinga is very interesting from the point of view of ancient religion and culture of that country. It was a Jaina stronghold from the very beginning. The Jaina Harivamśa Purāṇa informs us that Lord Mahāvīra had preached his faith in Kalinga. Haribhadriya-vṛtti on Āvaśyaka confirms Mahāvīra's visit to the country of Kalinga, and adds that the king of that country was a friend (or a relation) of his father.

Above are some positive evidences confirming the prevalence of Jainism in Kalinga. There are certain negative evidences too. The Mahābhārata (Karna Parvan, Ch. 44. p. 155-6. Trans. P. C. Ray) informs us:

“The Kāliṅgas are people of no religion. They should be avoided. The lowest Brāhmaṇas reside there from very remote times. They are without the Vedas, without knowledge, without sacrifice, and without power to assist at other's sacrifice. The gods do not accept any gifts from them”. And so on.

Perfectly in the same spirit, the writer of the Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra (I, 1. 30-31) regards Kalinga as an impure country, but evidently not unfrequented by Aryans. The commentator says that certain countries should not be entered and we are informed that whosoever goes to Kalinga, commits sin with his feet and hence must perform the Vaiśvanariya Ishti.

Now, why was so much of fuss created against the people of Kalinga in the Brāhmaṇa Works? What made the highest and the most orthodox ones in the Aryan society—mainly based on the Varṇāśrama Dharma to raise a cry and create a stir against the very culture of the Kāliṅgas, who were one of the most strong

allies of the Kurus and played no less important role in the great Mahābhārata battle? It must have been mainly the reason of the prevalence of a heterodox religion i. e. Jainism in that country. The followers of Jainism and Buddhism were not liked by Brāhmanas, for they preached against sacrifice—the very basis of Brahmanic ritualism. That appears to be the reason why people of Kāliṅga were severely criticised; their religion and culture were questioned: they were degraded to the status of Sūdras, so that their very sight was sufficient to pollute any orthodox Brāhmaṇa. Instances of such condemnation are not wanting in ancient Indian literature. Brāhmaṇa writers created all sorts of doubts in Kshatriya origin of the Nandas, simply because they were believer in the Jaina Faith. The Maurya dynasty, to which Aśoka the Great, belonged, too was not spared, may be because most of the rulers did not have faith in Brahmanism, and preached against all sorts of sacrifices. Even Brāhmanas living in the Kāliṅga country were condemned in the most severe language. All this goes to prove indirectly prevalence of Jainism in Kāliṅga.

But this condemnation on the part of Brāhmanas, it appears, was not unanimous. The Mahābhārata contains references, side by side, showering praised upon the people of Kāliṅga. The country was thought to be one of the most sacred pilgrimages. Our heroes of the Mahābhārata War are very frequently spoken of visiting Kāliṅga on pilgrimage tour. Probably the tour was not thought to be complete without a bath in the Vaitaraṇī. The detailed description of Yudhishtira's visit to Kāliṅga on pilgrimage is most noteworthy in this connection.

The Kāliṅga country, though included in the list of non-Aryan or *Mlechchha* countries, was credited with an Aryan origin. It is said to have been founded after prince Kāliṅga, the son of Bali from queen Sudeshnā, begotten by the great rishi Īrghatamas. The Baudhāyana Dharma Sūtra, as already stated, allows a person visiting Kāliṅga to perform certain sacrifice in order to purify himself. But such permission was not allowed to visitors of other non-Aryan countries. Duryodhana goes to the extent of marrying the daughter of Chitrāṅgada, the king of Kāliṅga, and there is not a single word against this union found in the Mahābhārata or any other Brāhmaṇa work. We are, hence, on a safer ground in surmising that social contacts with Kāliṅga were maintained at least by Kshatriyas of Āryavarta viz. the country lying to the north of Vindhya ranges upto the kingdom of Kāśī in the east.

Public Works

Greed of the Nandas for wealth is sometimes given undue prominence. They are believed to have deposited their wealth below the Gaṅgā-bed. Stupas near Patliputra, ascribed to Aśoka, were attributed by another tradition to Nandarāja and supposed to be his treasuries. (Smith, E. H. I., 1924, p. 43, n. 2.). In the *Mudrā-Rākṣasa* (Act I) Chāṇakya speaks with contempt of the avaricious soul of the Nandas. It can be argued on the basis of the above that Nandarāja, while taking away the idol of Kāliṅga-Jina, might have carried with him great wealth from the defeated country. This is not improbable. But such a conclusion may not be in the fitness of things, for we know at the same time that Nandarāja is reputed to have excavated irrigated projects in Kāliṅga, one of which, at least, was in existence at the time of Khāṇavela. This act gives us an insight into positive public activities of the Nandas. Kāliṅga was a 'vijita' country and the interest shown in the welfare of the country and the people there suggests greater interest in their own people viz. the Māgadhās.

The Nandas also have been credited with the invention of a particular kind of measure called 'Nandopakramāṇi-māṇāni' referred to in the *Aśṭadhyāyī* of Pāṇini (II. 4. 21. Trans. S. C. Vasu).

The base origin and avariciousness of the Nandas therefore appears to be nothing more than a propaganda as mentioned above.

Art and Architecture

The image of the Kāliṅga-Jina itself is of no less interest to a student of art and architecture. It gives us an insight into the sculptural activities of the Kāliṅgas. The image must have possessed all qualities. It must have been most attractive and life-like image. The very look at it must have brought the greatest and the proudest down upon his knees, and bow before it in reverence. That is why it was valued most and taken away by Nandarāja too on the other hand could never forget their great loss for times to come. So that when they could assert their independence and found themselves strong enough under the able leadership of Khāṇavela, they attacked Magadha and brought back their lovely and dear image. This act was of no little importance for the Kāliṅgas, and hence a mention of it was made in the Hāthi-gumphā inscription.

On the basis of antiquities unearthed at Taxila and other places it has been inferred that the cutting and polishing of hardstone in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. had reached a level of technical accomplishment which was sustained in the Maurya period, but never afterwards surpassed. (A. K. Coomarswamy, *History of Indian and Indonesian Art*, 1927, London. pp. 9-14).

Identification Of The Kalinga-Jina

There is a great difficulty in the identification of the Kalinga-Jina, because Jaina traditions do not assign any of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras to Kalinga. K. P. Jayaswal and R. D. Banerji (I. A. II, p. 136) have suggested that it should be taken to refer to the tenth Tīrthaṅkara, Lord Śītalānātha, who was born at Bhadālpura which is probably identical with Bhadrachalam or Bhadrapuram in the Kalinga country. This town is at present situated in the Godavari District of the Madras Presidency.

Image Worship

From the reference to the Image of Jina, we learn that image worship had begun just after two hundred years or a little earlier to the passing away of the last great lord Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Prevalence of image worship in the fifth century B. C. is corroborated by various literary evidences. Pāṇini's Sūtras (V. 3. 99, also 9.) give us positive information about representations of gods. The rule applies to the image of gods which were made means of subsistence by a low order of Brāhmaṇas not by selling them, but by exhibiting them from door to door (J. N. Banerji, *Hindu Iconography*, p. 44). In the chapter on Dūrganiveśa (Buildings within the fort) says "In the centre of the city the apartments of gods shall be made. In the corners the guardian dieties of the Earth shall be set up." Here he mentions a number of gods and goddesses. He also mentions figures of goddesses and alters which were to be carved on wooden door frames of the royal underground chamber. In his fourth Rock Edict, Aśoka mentions about showing the public representations of aerial chariots, of elephants, masses of fire and other divine figures, and these might denote sculptural pieces.

We have no archaeological evidence for the above worth the name, but mention may be made of two images (torso fragments) found at Lohanipura in Bankipura in Bihar. Both are cut in the round and show excellent moulding. The style leaves no doubt that they are images of Tīrthaṅkaras. The site yielded a large number of bricks of the Maurya style and the foundation of a square temple. There was also a worn out coin found which has been attributed to earlier to the Maurya period, and thus would suggest the Nanda period. (K. P. Jayaswal, J. B. O. R. S., XXIII, 1937, pp. 130-32).



Two Punjha Sanads from Bhadrak.
(See pages 27—30)

TWO PUNJHA SANADS FROM BHADRAK

Sri Susil Chandra De

(With plates)

The two documents under reference were discovered by the writer from among the family records of Mahasay Ganesh Prasad Ray, Zamindar of Kaupur, P. S. Bhadrak, in 1931. One of them is bigger than the other, and their sizes are 20 X 13.5 c. m. and 15.9 X 11.2 c. m. respectively. According to the proprietor, the *sanads* were issued by Mughal Emperor to Purandar Ray Mahasay, one of the ancestors of their family. He was a resident of village Bally in Uttarpara in Bengal. He came to Bhadrak on Government service and settled down at Kaupur. The proprietor could not throw any light on the date of the issue of the sanad, purpose for which they were issued, or the nature of appointment of Purandar Ray.

The writer sent the photo prints of the two documents to the Director of Archives, Government of India, for his views. He was kind enough to examine them and return the photo-prints with the following note.

"The two documents under review are the photo-prints of Punjah (print of hand), their size being 3.6" X 2.5" and 3.6 X 2.4" respectively. They do not contain any date and the name of the writer is not forthcoming. They contain the motto of Islam (Kalma-i-Tayaba), the names of Punjtan, Mahammad, Ali, Fatima, Hasan and Husain, and of the twelve Imams and fourteen Masooms. Some Quranic lines are also written on them.

"Though these documents do not give any historical date, yet they reveal clearly that their owner or donor definitely professed the Shia faith. It may be added that in a rotograph copy of a firman issued under the seal of Mohammad Shujah, son

of the Mughal Emperor, Shahjehan, and dated 24th Rabi 11-1038 A-H. (19 March 1658 A. D.), the print of a hand without any hand-writing is found. The contents of the firman clearly signifies it to be a 'Punjab Mubarak'—the print of the royal hand and reveals that it was used as a sort of pledge or an assurance from the donor of the firman. The documents under review are quite different in nature, form and matter for they contain some Quranic lines and the principles of the Shia faith written on them and they are still used freely among the Shias as a talisman, amulet or object of veneration. Moreover they exist separately and do not form part of any firman presented by any official. Additional evidence is not yet forthcoming which can throw light on them. Under these circumstances nothing can be said of their historical importance."

In a genealogical table of the family filed in two cases, one in 1861, and the other in 1938, the names of all the members from Nawal Kishore Ray Mahasay down to Gopiballabh Ray Mahasay are mentioned. Nawal Kishore Ray Mahasay is mentioned as *Sadr quanungo*, but nothing is mentioned about his jurisdiction.

So the two Punjabs, by themselves, reveal nothing, excepting the fact that the donor professed Shia faith. But when they are considered in the back ground of the tradition of the Mahasay family of Bhadrak, they yield some mere light.

According to the family tradition, Purandar Ray Mahasay was the first member of the family to leave his village residence on Government service and settle down at Kaupur in Bhadrak. Since the post of *sadr quanungo* was ordinarily a hereditary one, Purandar Ray Mahasay may be assumed to have been appointed as *sadr quanungo* of Bhadrak. This assumption is borne out by the fact that Krishna Prasad Ray, the 9th Mahasay in the list, is mentioned as *sadr quanungo* in *parganah Rāndiā Oragaḍā* of Bhadrak in one of the Maratha rent roll.¹ So, there can be hardly any doubt about the fact that the Mahasayas of Kaupur were hereditary *sadr quanungos* of Bhadrak.

Now we have to find out the name of the donor of the *Sanads* and his date.

The post of *qanungo* came into prominence in the reign of Akbar for keeping records of *parganahs*. Two *sadr qanugos* were appointed for Bengal during the reign of Akbar, but in each

1. Madox, *Final Report on the Survey & Settlement of the Province of Orissa*, Vol. I, p. 158.

parganah, there was a deputy or *naib qanungo* under each *sadr qanungo*. During the time of Murshid Quli Khan, the whole revenue system was reorganised and he is stated to have replaced the *qanungos* by an entirely new set.² He is said to have employed none but Bengali Hindus in the collection of the revenue because they were easily compelled by punishment to discover their malpractices and nothing was to be apprehended from their pusillanimity³.

According to Stirling, the post of *sadr qanungo* for Orissa was created at the time of Mughal settlement by Raja Todar Mal'. Stirling further says, "To fill the new office foreigners were introduced from Bengal, who settled with their families and transmitted it for several generations to their children by hereditary descent confirmed by the sanads of the ruling power. Not only four Sadder Canoongoes were all from Bengal, but more than three fourth of their gomastahs, deputies, one of which was stationed in each *pergunnah*. are like-wise of Bengali extraction⁴."

The four *sadr qanungos* referred to above were stationed at Cuttack, Bhadrak, Soro and Balasore, and they were known as Mahasayas. In this connection Stirling writes, 'The Sadar Canoongoes or Mahasayas appear as talookdars in some of the *pergunnahs* only placed under their control in the four divisions of Cuttack, Bhadrak, Soro and Balasore'⁵.

Now, the question is whether these four *sadr qanungos* were appointed in the reign of Akbar, or at a later stage. As stated above only two *sadr qanungos* were appointed for Bengal in the reign of Akbar; so it is not likely that four such officials would be appointed for Orissa. In view of this, it appears quite probable that one *Sadr qanungo* was appointed for Orissa originally, later on, it was increased to four.

Murshid Quli Khan carried out extensive revenue reforms in Bengal and Orissa; so it is very likely that the posts of four *sadr qanungos* for Orissa were created in his time, and they were filled by the Bengali Hindu revenue officers to ensure efficiency and proper management of the revenue administration in Orissa under him.

2. Cambridge History, of India; Vol. V, p 412.

3. Gladwin, A Narrative of the transactions in Bengal, pp. 36-37.

4. Stirling, An Account of Orissa Proper, appendix, p. VII & p. XVI.

5. Ibid, Appendix, pp. XVI—XVII.

6. Ibid, p. ii.

Stirling has given the English translation of a *sanad* relating to the appointment of *sadr qanungo* on the 41st year of Aurangzib's reign (1699). It is stated therein that on the death of Balabhadra, his son Rajendra was appointed to the post of *sadr qanungo*. The officials of the *Subah* Orissa are informed of this appointment, and the newly appointed officer is asked to send regular statements relating to the *Subah*.

Again, on the death of Rajendra, his son, Brajendra, was appointed to the post of *Sadr qanungo* in the 9th year of Mahammad Shah's reign (1727). There is no mention of *Subah* Orissa in this *sanad*, instead, there is mention of *sarkar*, Cuttack. From this it is evident that the post of *sadr qanungo* of *Subah* Orissa of Aurangzib's time was converted into that of Cuttack in 1727 A.D.⁷

Murshid Quli Khan was Subahdar of Orissa from 1712 to 1727⁸. Prior to that, he was the Diwan of revenues of Orissa till 1701¹⁰. Again, "From 1704 to 1712 while Prince Azim-ush-shan was the governor of Bengal (including Orissa) and Bihar, Murshid Quli Khan acted first as Diwan and later as deputy Subahdar and *de facto* ruler. In 1712 he became, full governor of Bengal and Orissa."¹¹ So, the assumption that Murshid Quli Khan created four posts of *sadr qanungo* as a part of his extensive revenue reforms is supported by the fact stated above.

The same view is corroborated by another fact. Murshid Quli Khan was a Shia Muslim. As stated above, the donor of the two documents professed Shia faith; so, they may be attributed to him.

The purpose for which the two documents were issued can not be ascertained in the present state of our knowledge. They were, in all probability, issued by Murshid Quli Khan, as *Diwan* or *Subahdar*, along with imperial orders of appointment, as tokens of his assurance and support to the *sadr qanungo*.

7. *Ibid.* Appendix, pp. LXV—LXVII.

8. *Ibid.* Appendix, pp. LXVII—LXVIII.

9. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, p. 217.

10. Hanerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol. II, p. 66.

11. Sarkar, *Studies in Aurangzib's Reign*, p. 217, f. a.

(Obvers)



The Olasingh Copper plate of Bhānuvardhana
(See pages 31—32)

THE OLASINGH COPPER PLATE OF BHANUVARDHANA

(By Sri Satyanarayan Rajaguru)

(with Plates.)

This copper plate inscription is now preserved in the Raghunandan Library, Puri. In March 1953, I got the plate on loan from the library with permission of the Mahanta Maharaj of Emar Math and deciphered it after cleaning. I was given to understand that the plate was discovered from Olasingh of Puri District. The inscription is not distinct in many places as it is damaged to a great extent. Therefore, the reading is not completely free from doubt in certain places.

The measurement of the plate is about $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches \times 4 inches. The seal is missing. There are eleven lines of writing on the front side of the plate and eight lines on its back. The scripts employed in it belong to the Gupta type of characters used in the 5th. and the 6th. centuries A. D. The letters A, CHA, JA, NA, DA, BHA, MA, LA and SA may be considered as test letters to determine the time of the inscription palaeographically.

TEXT

(Obverse)

1. ॐ स्वस्ति [॥] मन्वन्तु निमुत्तः परमदेवतं श्री परम भट्टार [क पादा]—
2. नृध्यातो महाप्रतिहार महाराज महासामन्त श्री भानुवर्ध [नः]
3. कुशली [॥] उड्डाम लोक विषय समुपगतान्वर्त (सं) मात [मविष्य]
4. महासामन्त महाराज राजपुत्र कुसाराभासो [परिक]
5. विषयपति तदायुक्त दा [ण्ड] वा (पा) सि- (शि) क स्थानान्तरिकान्वान् इव

1. The letters 'भानु' are not distinct. These letters may also be read as 'भीति'. The downward stroke in the letter 'न' appears as 'u' mātrā. So, I am inclined to read it as 'भानु' instead of 'भीति'. Moreover the word 'भीति मर्दन' as a name is not appropriate.

6. चाठ भटा [दि छवि]^३ करणान्श्च पूजयति [॥] अस्तु दति (ति) (?) म्बदित
7. यथास्माभिरेतद्बिषय सम्बद्ध + + +^३ लं भेना कु—
8. म्बकं सुकुल्लाक ग्रामः श्री परमभट्टारक पादा [ना]
9. म्पुण्याभिषुद्धये ताम्रपट्टेनाचन्द्रावकं समकालं
10. प्रम्बिका मणिनागेश्वर भट्टारकाय मत्तायनाय च्छात्रा—
11. ह्यणानाम्प्रतिपादित स्तदेवा सम चितान् ताम्रपट्टकान्

(Reverse)

12. सुवर्णनानाम्बाधा न केनचित्कायां [॥] श्री परम बन्दित म—
13. दीय धम्मं गौरवाच्च दत्तिरेषा परिपालयितव्येति ॥
14. सम्बत् ७^४ मा बु दि २०. ४ [॥] उक्तञ्च धम्मं शास्त्रे [॥] बहुभि र्वसुया
15. दत्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः यस्य यस्य यदामूमि स्तस्य स्तस्य—
16. स्तदा फलं । (॥) स्वदताम्परदत्ताम्बा योहरेति वसुधरां सवि—
17. ष्टायां कुमिभूत्वा पितुभिः सह पच्यते । (॥) लिखितं सान्निध—
18. विग्रहिक गोविन्देन [॥] तापितं पेडा पाल प्रतिष्ठितेन [॥]
19. उत्कीर्णं शिवनन्दनेनेति । ० ।

TRANSLATION OF THE TEXT

Om, Hail, Śrī Bhānūvardhan (whose designation is) Mahāpratihāra (and) Mahārāja's Mahā-sāmantā, (who is) the son (or descendant) of ANDHAMUNI, (who is) a great believer in gods (Parama-daivata) (and) a devoted worshipper at the feet of Parama Bhaṭṭāraka, is well.

The future and the present Mahā-sāmantas, the Mahārājas, the Rāja-putras, the Kumāras, the Amātyas, the Uparikas, the Daṇḍavā (pā) śikas, the Sthānāntarikas and the other Chāṭa, Bhaṭa and Adhikarāṇas, who assembled in the Vishaya (named) Uddāmaloka, are being honoured :

We granted a village named Kumvarka Sunkhalāka, attached to this Vishaya (District) of.....lup Kshetra, in favour of Ambikā-Manināgēśvara Bhaṭṭāraka, in order to increase (our) merit (Dharma) through the feet of Śrī Parama Bhaṭṭāraka (the

2. The letter 'दि' is superfluous.
3. Some three letters here are not distinct.
4. The numerical symbol here may also be read as 1.

(Reverse)



The Olasingh Copper plate of Bhānuvardhana
(See page 32)



God) as long as the existence of the moon and the sun by (issuing this) copper-plate. (It has been) ordered for the sake of our 'Dharma-gaurava' (religious-glory) that the Brāhmaṇas (who are) the students of the Maitrāyaṇa (Section) (are to) maintain this charter of copper-plate without any sort of obstructions whatsoever caused by any of their caste-people.

(The grant is made in) Samvat 7, on the 24th. day of the bright fortnight of Āśvina (or Āshāḍha ?).*

(Here follow two Ślokas quoted from Dharma-Sāstra)

It is written by the Sāndhivigrahin Govinda; heated by the Peḍāpāla Pratishṭhita (and) engraved by Śivanandana.

Historical notes

The historical importance of the following expressions is discussed below:—

(1) Andhamunisutaḥ

(2) Maitrāyaṇi Brāhmaṇaḥ

and (3) Ambikā-Maniāgeśvara-Bhaṭṭārakaḥ.]

Instead of identifying himself (the donor of the grant) according to the matriarchal system of family designation in the manner of the Āndhras, the Ikshvākus, the Śālaṅkāyanas, the donor of the present grant identifies himself according to the patriarchal system of family names, calling himself as 'Andhamuni Sutaḥ**'. This sort of designation used by some royal families of O issa is quite significant. The Patiakella grant of Mahā āja Śambhūyaśa. (E.I. Vol. IX, P. 287 ff.) mentions the name of 'Maudgalya' to identify his family which indicates that the sage Mudgala was the progenitor of that dynasty. He was a 'Gotra-Pravartaka' with five Pravaras, namely (1) Aurva, (2) Chyavana, (3) Bhārgava, (4) Āpouventa and (5) Jāmadagnya. But, Andha-

* After Samvat 7 there is a letter 'Ā' which may stand for Āśvina or Āshāḍha.

** The Matriarchal designations used in the 3rd. or the 4th. centuries A. D. may be traced from the (1) Bhitari clay seal of Gautami-putra Vindhyavēdhana and (2) Bhitāri clay seal of Bhīmasena.

(Vide A.S.I. An. Rep., 1911-12, pp. 50-51).

muni*** alias Dīrghatamas is not a Gotra-pravartaka, although, according to the Purāṇas, he produced some powerful rulers like Āṅga, Vāṅga, Kālīṅga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, who ruled over countries after their names. In this connection I like to mention the following story from the Mahābhārata regarding the Andha-muni, the cognomen of Dīrghatamas :—

There lived a learned Muni named Utathya. His wife Mamatā was a very beautiful lady. Once Vrihaspati fell in love with her and expressed his desire for sexual conjugation. Disagreeing with his request, Mamatā said that she was pregnant and a child was in her womb who had already learnt the Shadāṅga-Veda. Vrihaspati, out of passion, did not listen to her advice, but applied force to fulfill his desire. At the time of sprinkling the 'amogha-vīrya' or the infallible semen, the child inside the womb blocked the passage by thrusting his feet at the uterus in order to stop the semen from entering into it. At this Vrihaspati grew angry and cursed the child, saying that he would become blind. That child was afterwards known as Dīrghatamas.

Dīrghatamas married a Brāhmaṇa lady named Pradveshi. She gave birth to some children, among whom the sage Gautama is famous. Even after reaching the age of oldness Dīrghatamas could not check his sexual passions, which annoyed not only his wife but also the hermits living nearby. So, Pradveshi requested her sons to throw him into the water of the Ganges, which request was materialised in no time. Dīrghatamas floated in the water to a great distance, untill he was caught sight of a king named Ball, who was then taking his sacred bath in the Ganges. Ball had no child. So, he saved the Muni from the water and gave shelter in his own palace. On learning that the sage possessed the great power of procreation, one day, the king requested the Muni to favour him by producing some children through his queen Sudeshnā. When this request was accepted, the king informed the queen to keep herself ready for the purpose. But, Sudeshnā did not like the idea of sleeping with an

*** Andha muni of Rāmāyaṇa who cursed the king Daśaratha was not an important person like Dīrghatamas. Also he was not a progenitor of any dynasty as he died childless after his only son was killed by Daśaratha.

There is a line of kings living in South-India which is known as 'आनन्द महर्षि बन्धु समुदायः'. अनुष्मन्ति of our inscription is not the same person as आनन्द महर्षि of the South Indian inscriptions of the 5th - 6th centuries A. D.

old and blind sage like Dīrghatamas. So she managed to save the situation by appointing one of her maid-servants for the purpose of sexual intercourse.† In due course of time the maid-servant gave birth to some children and subsequently the real fact was known to the king, whereupon he ordered Sudeshṇā to produce children with the help of the Muni, in order to save the dynasty from extinction. The order was materialised and Sudeshṇā gave birth to children named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra, and Sumha, who afterwards established kingdoms after their names.††

With regard to the Bāleya kshatriyas of the eastern Ānava-kingdom, Pargiter explains the aspect in the following manner, which is quite convincing —

‘He (Dīrghatamas) lived in his parental cousin’s hermitage, whom the Purāṇas apparently call Sa-radvaṇṭ, but indulged in gross immorality or misbehaved towards the wife of the younger Autathya. Hence he was expelled and set adrift in the Ganges. He was carried downstream to the eastern Ānava kingdom and was there welcomed by king Ballī. This incident finds support in the Rigveda (I, 158, 3, 5), where he speaks of having been delivered from bodily hurt and from danger in the rivers; and it is not improbable, because these Āṅgīrasa Rishis were living, as mentioned above, in the kingdom of Vaisālī, so that he might easily have been put on a raft in the Ganges there and have drifted some seventy miles down to the Monghyr and Bhāgalpur country, which was the Ānava realm, and was soon afterwards called Aṅga kingdom. There Dīrghatamas married the queen’s Sūdra nurse and had Kaskhivanta and other sons; and at Ballī’s desire begot of the queen Sudeshṇā five sons, Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kaliṅga, Puṇḍra and Sumha, who were called the Bāleya-Kāstra and also Bāleya Brāhmans. This is strange yet not improbable, for brāhmans did render such services. Afterwards he gained his sight, and assumed the name Gotama or Gautama.’^v

With regard to the extension of the kingdom of the Bāleya-Kshatriyas Pargiter remarks thus:—

“The Saudyumnas had been almost overwhelmed by the Ānavas and were restricted to the Utkalas and other clans which

+ Pargiter says that Dīrghatamas married the maid-servant (A.I.H.T. pp. 158)

†† Mahābhārata, Ādi P., 104th. Adhyāya.

8. Pargiter’s *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 152-59.

occupied the hilly tracts from Gayā to Orissā.** All north- and east Bengal was held by the Prāgjyotisha-kingdom, which is now here connected with any of these races and would seem to have been founded by an invation of Mangolians from the north-east, though tradition is silent about this out-lying development. The configuration of the five Ānava-kingdoms in the east, the Āngas, the Baṅgas, the Kalingas, the Pundras and the Sambas, which held all the sea-coast from Ganjam to the Ganges-delta, and formed a long compact curved wedge with its base on the sea-coast and its point about Bhāgalpur, suggests that there had also been an invasion from the sea that penetrated upto the Ganges-valley, leaving the hilly tracts on its west and east alone; and this conjecture, if reasonable, would mean that the invaders had driven the Sudyumna-stock into those hilly-tracts, and that had taken place before those five kingdoms were formed. But, there is no trace in tradition of any such invasion of this distant region.”†

In some Purāṇas we find mention of the names of either Odra or Āndhra added to the list of the sons of Balī. For example, in the Bhāgavata Purāṇa (IX-23.5) of the Gaudīya-Mūṭha (Calcutta) edition, the following Śloka is mentioned :—

“मङ्ग वङ्ग कलिङ्गायः३ मुद्गपीण्डोऽ सजिताः ।
जज्ञिरे दीप तमसो बलेः क्षेत्र महीजिताः ॥”

Jagannātha Dasa's Oriya Bhāgavata, compiled in the 16th. century A.D., repeats the same story including Odra as one of the six sons of Balī.⁶ Sri P. Acharya, while writing a paper on the ‘*Bhum*’ countries, refers to a Bombay publication where the name of ‘Āndhra’ is mentioned instead of ‘Odra’ (Vide ‘Indian Culture’, XII, pp. 37).

** The Sudyumna had three sons, namely Utkala, Gaya and Vinataśva, In this connection the following verses of The Harivamsa Purana may be cited :—

“सुद्युम्नस्य तु दायोदात्तस्यः परमं वामिकाः ।
उत्कलश्च गयश्चैव विनताश्वश्च भारत ॥
उत्कलस्योत्कला राजन् विनताश्वस्य पश्चिमा ।
दिक् पूर्वा भारतश्चेष्ट गयस्य तु गया पुरी ॥”

(Vide Harivamsa, X, 18-19)

6. J.R.A.S., (1908), pp. 581

7. Pargiter's *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, pp. 292-93.

8. Oriya Bhagavata: IX Skanda, 23rd Adhyaya. ॥

In consideration of the above facts it may not be too bold a presumption to conclude that one of the royal families of the coastal tracts of Orissa of the ancient period had adopted the designation of 'Andhamuni-suta' or the son of Andhamuni alias Dīrghatamas, in order to link itself with this popular story of the Purāṇas and also to be recognised as 'Ānava' or one of the sons of the epic person Anu of the Lunar-race of Kshatriyas, which is defined as the Beleya-Kshatriya race.

Unfortunately, Bhānuvardhana, the donor of the present grant, has not mentioned the name of his family in his record. The suffix of his name 'Vardhana' leaves no clue but gives a faint idea in our mind to associate his family with either the Pushyabhūti of northern India or the Śailas of the kingdom of Vindhya-pāda (or Śrīvardhanapura), who invariably used the title of 'Vardhana' in their records. The Pushyabhūti kings had the following names :—

Naravardhana, Rājyavardhana, Ādityavardhana, Prabhākaravardhana and Harshavardhana. Similarly the Śaila vaṃśī kings of Śrīvardhanapura of the Vindhya kingdom used the following names :—

Śrīvardhana, Prithuwardhana, Sauvardhana and Jayavardhana. The former family lived in the 6th. and the 7th. centuries A.D. and the latter in or about the 8th. century A.D. according to Hiralal (*Vide E. I. Vol. IX, pp. 42*). Some royal dynasties of the medieval-age have followed the system of maintaining a particular type of 'Viruda' or title for their families in order to distinguish the same from the other families. Of course, in few cases this rule had not been observed. Under such circumstance it is not safe on our part to link the family of Bhānuvardhana with any of the afore-mentioned families, unless and until further discoveries will make the point clear.

Regarding our second point, namely the 'Maitrāyaṇa-Brāhmaṇas' it is necessary to go through a certain length of discussion, as the same class of Brāhmaṇas are also mentioned in the copper plate grant of Śrī Lokavigraha of the 6th-7th century A. D. (*Vide J. K. H. R. S., Vol. III, P. 261—66*). This copper plate was discovered from a village called Kaṇāsa, not far from Olasinga where the present plate was discovered.

The Maitrāyaṇas belong to one of the schools of Yayur-veda; and originally they were known as 'Kāṭhas'. According to the Mahābhāṣya of Pātañjali the Kāṭhas and the Kālāpas belong to the school of Yayur-veda. Their doctrine was introduced in every village. According to the Rāmāyaṇa these Brāhmanas were highly honoured in Ayodhyā.

Macdonell says that "they were gradually spread by the two younger schools of the Yayur-veda. Of these the Taitirīyas have been found only to the mouth of the Narmadā where they can be traced as far as the 4th. century A.D. Their most important Sub-Division, that of the Āpastambhas, still survives in the territory of the Gōdāvarī, while another, the Hiraṇyakeśins, are found still further south. The school of the Vājastneyas spread towards the south-east, down the Ganges-valley." (*Vide Hist. Sank.Lit.* pp.176)

It should be noted here, that in the Soro and Balasore plates of Bhānudatta, Somadatta and Bhānu of the 6th-7th. centuries A.D. we find that the former was granted from the town of Virajā- (the modern Jajapur of Orissa), the second is a grant issued in the Odra Vishaya and the third at Nandirāṭa in favour of some Brāhmanas who belong to the Vatsa-Gotra of the Vājasaneyā-Charana (of Yayur-veda) (*Vide E.I., Vol.XXIII, pp 197 203 and I.H.Q XI, p.611ff.*) In some copper-plate grants of the Śailodbhava kings of Koṅḡāda mention is also made of Brāhmanas who belong to the Vājasaney-Charana (*Vide Puri plates of Dharmarāja, J.B.O.R.S., Vol XVI, pp. 170-22, Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja, J.A.S.B., Vol.LXXIII, pp 282-88; Koṅḡendā plates of Dharmarāja, E.I., Vol.XIX, pp.200-70*). They belong to the 7th. century A.D. These copper plates grants prove that the Vājasaneyins were residing in the coastal tracts of Orissa (from Balasore to Ganjam onwards) even in the 6th. to 7th. centuries A.D. These Brāhmanas were also called as the 'Yājñavalkyas' and they followed the 'Śukla-yayur-veda'. (*Vide Pargiter's A. I. H. T., pp. 324*).

Now, regarding the migration of the Brāhmanas to the southern countries of India the following story may be narrated from the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa :—

Māthava, the king of Videha, was once living near the river Sarasvatī, when the fire-god (Vaiśvānara) burnt the earth upto the bank of the river Sadānirā. After this those Brāhmanas who came to the south did not cross that river; because the fire-god did not cross the same. In the Śatapatha-Brāhmaṇa

it has further been mentioned that once the king Maṭhava asked the Agni "Where am I to abide?". The Agni replied "to the east of this river (Sadānīrā) be thy abode". This river, therefore formed the boundary line between Kośala and Videha.

There lived some kings in Kalinga between the 2nd and the 6th. centuries A. D. who called themselves as the 'Maṭharas'. They ruled the kingdom from a city named Simhapura. We have no evidence at our disposal to trace if the king Maṭhava of the Śatapatha-Brahmaṇa had any connection with the Māṭhara-dynasty of Kalinga.

About the Maitrāyaṇī-Brahmaṇas the Harivaṃśa (32/77) renders the following description :—

“दिवो दासस्य दायादो ब्रह्मणि मित्रयुतपः ।
मंत्रायणी ततः शाखा मंत्रेयास्तु ततः स्मृताः ॥”

From this it is understood that the sage Maitreya is the progenitor of this clan of Brāhmaṇas. He used to live in the 'Maitreya-vana', which, according to 'Kapila-saṃhitā', was located in the Prāchī-valley of the Puri District.

'Maitrāyaṇī' is a Upanishad. The Brāhmaṇas who followed that Upanishad were named as 'Maitrāyaṇī'. They were the followers of 'A'himsā'. It is corroborated from the following definition of Mahābhārata :—

“न हिंस्तात् सर्वं भूतानि मंत्रायण गत इवरेत्”
(Vide Mahābhārata, 12/7961 Śloka)

The following definition of Nīlakaṇṭha is also significant with regard to the name of 'Maitrāyaṇī' :

“मित्रं=मित्रभावः ; तदेवायनं=मार्गः; नद्गत इवरेत्;
मित्रः=सूर्यः; तस्येदं मंत्र, तत् अयनं गमनं तत्र गतः;
सूर्यवत् प्रत्यहं विभिन्न मार्गः ...”

It means that the Brāhmaṇas named 'Mitrāyaṇī' would never halt at one place, just like the Sun which always moves in the sky. According to the Agni-Purāṇa the Brāhmaṇas who were deputed for the Sun-worship and migrated from the Śaka-Dvīpa (Seythia)** were named as the Magas, the Magadhamānas and the Mandagās :

(Vide Agni p.119 Adhyāya, 21 Śloka).

** Regarding the migration of these Brahmanas from Saka-Dvīpa (seythia) reference may be made to the Bhaviṣya-purana, 72-74 Adhyāya and Brāhma p. 1 part, 140. Adhyāya.

“मगा मगधमानस्य मन्दगाश्च द्विजातयः ।
ययन्ति सूर्यं रूपन्तु शाकः क्षीराब्धिना वृतः ॥”

It is not known whether these Brāhmanas of Śaka-Dvīpa had any link with the Maitrāyaṇīs, who where also the Sun-worshippers and lived in the coastal tracts of Orissa.

The Sāmva-Purāṇa also corroborates the above tradition.

In the Brāhmanas we come across the term ‘Mitrāvaruṇīya’ and ‘Mitrāvaruṇa’. This type of Brāhmanas occupy an important place in the sacrificial performances. They were deputed to perform the sacrifice in honour of the gods like ‘Mitra’ (The Sun) and Varuṇa (The Ocean). According to the commentary of Sāvaṇchārya the above statement is fully supported by the following analogy :—

येन वै महिरिति श्रुते...
श्रुते च वारुण रात्रीति.....”

Sāyana’s above definition proves decidedly that the doctrine of this class of Brāhmanas was based on the worship of ‘Kala, (the time) viz: the day and the night. Mitra is supposed to have opened the world with its brilliant light and Varuṇa is supposed to have closed it with its ‘Āvarana’ or darkness. This doctrine was propagated by the ‘Maitrāyaṇīyas’; and in course of time, probably, the ward ‘Mitrābaruṇi’ was changed in to ‘Mitrāyaṇi’.

Hopkin analyses the term ‘Mitrābaruṇi’ as follows:

“The nymph Urvaśi ‘belonged to Mitra, but loved Baruṇa. Thus, owing to a family jar (so to speak) Mitra having cursed Urvaśi, Varuṇa became father of Vaśiṣṭha “Retah kumbhya pārjat”) Yet Mitra claimed to be his father (same tale of Agastya), whence Vaśiṣṭha was called Maitrābaruṇi. (Vide Epic Mythology, pp.118).

Our third question relates to the origin of the deities of Ambikā and Maṇināgeśvara in whose favour the present grant was made. The name Ambikā is a cognomen of Umā or pārvati, whereas the other is that of Maheśvara or Śiva. Probably they were installed on the summit of a mountain named Maināka or Maṇināka, for which reason the name of the deity was kept as Maṇināgeśvara. Before dealing with the question of Maṇināga,

I like to point out that Ambikā is a goddess, who has been ethnically associated with the Pariah caste of South-India. Hopkins says :—"the connection of Paraśurāma with the Śiva-cult is maintained to the present day, the temple of Kālī having a special shrine to this Rāma, owing to the legend that his wife Reṇukā was revived by her head being placed on the body of a pariah-woman. The goddess Ellamma (Sārvaṃbā) is recognised as the goddess with the head of Reṇukā, while paraśurāma adores Ambikā (Ellamma)."¹ Regarding the Pariha goddess Ellamma, Gustav Oppert remarks as follows :—

"It is interesting to note that Ellamma in modern mythology becomes the mother of the Trimūrti, hatching out the three gods as a hen. The part played by the serpents in her worship connects her with the Nāgas."² Thurston says that Ellamma is a goddess of boundary, worshipped by Tamil and Telugu Paraiyans.³ The Paraiyans are living in the Tamil-Districts of the State of Madras, and their mother-tongue is Tamil. The corresponding castes of Orissa are Cheñchu, Hāḍi and Mehentara, whose family totem is Nāga or the cobra.⁴ Originally the Nāga-vaṇṣis belonged to a nomadic race, and they did not go along with the 'chātur-varṇas' or the four-castes of the Hindu community. Briefly speaking, the Paraiyans of the Tamil country together with the Cheñchus, Hāḍis, Mehentaras and other castes of Orissa belong to a homogenous clan, having their original animistic conceptions, although they used to worship the goddess Ellamma or Ambikā. Most probably the deities of Ambika and Maṇināgēśvara of our inscriptions have some ethnic connection with these nomadic races of South-India. The Nāga tribe, according to Oldham, belongs to the Solar race.⁵

The place where from the present plate is discovered is not far from the town of Raṇapur in Orissa. This town is situated at the foot of a range of hills called Maṇināga. On the top of the hill there is an old temple where the deity Maṇināgēśvara is installed. It is, therefore, identical with the Maṇināgēśvara of our inscriptions.

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1. Epic Mythology, PP. 226.
 2. Zeitchrift Fur Ethnologicie, 1905, pp. 729.
 3. Castes and Tribes of Southern India, Vol. VI, pp. 105.
 4. A caste named Nagasalu of the Visakhapatna Dt. is recorded in the Census Rpt. of 1891. There is a caste called Naga-Sapa, enumerated in the Ganjam Dt. in the Census Report of 1931 (Madras Report).
 5. The Sun and the Serpent, pp. 47-52.

The mountain of Mañināga or the Maināka, as it is popularly known, is not unknown to the epic literature of this country. According to the Purāṇas, this mountain, together with the Meru and Kailāsa, was used as a favorite play ground of the gods. The holy summits of these mountains are supposed to have been marked with the foot-prints of the devine spirits :—

“देवानामाकिङ् चरणाङ्कितम् ।”

They were also considered as the gods' sporting grounds where man is not allowed to enter into :—

“विहारो देवानाममान् पतस्तुष्टा ।”

In the Rāmāyaṇa we find that the Maināka-giri had sprung from the ocean to give rest to Māruti, the monkey-hero, when he crossed the sea, by leaping over it 'from Laṅkā.'¹

A Sanskrit poet named Amaru who belongs to about the middle of the 7th. century A. D.² begins his famous 'Śataka' with the following verse, praying Ambikā as his Ishta-devī :—

“ज्याकृष्टिबद्धस्तकाम् लषाणिपृष्ठ
प्रेङ्खन्नसांघुचयसं वलितोऽम्बिकायाः ।
त्वां पातु मञ्जरित फलव कर्णपूर
लोभभ्रमध्वमर-विभ्रम मुक्तदासः ॥”

It proves that the Goddess Ambikā had attained sufficient importance in the Brahmanical panthian before the 7th. century A. D. In another Sanskrit work named 'Lakṣhaṇa-Samucchaya' this goddess is described as follows :—

“सिंहास्त्रदाम्बिकाव्यक्षा मूयिता दपणोद्बहा ।
(वामभुजे दपणोद्बहा दक्षिणे वरयुक्ता, यदुकम्—
दक्षिणेतु करे प्रोक्तो वरस साधारण मूयता ।)
सद्यखेटधराद्वाम्यां कर्तव्या च चतुर्भुजा ॥”

(Vide T. A. Gopinatha Rao's *Hindu Iconography* Vol. I, Pt. i, pp. 117-8). The above description is not similar to that found in the Amaru's 'Śataka'. One of the four arms of the Devī, holding a Mirror, was not popular during the time of Amaru. Therefore, it may be concluded that the goddess

1. The Rāmāyaṇa, Sundara Kanda, VII.

2. Keith says that the poet (Amaru) wrote his 'Śataka' before 650 A. D. Vide *Histry of Sanskrit Literature* pp. 183.)

Ambikā which was at first worshipped by some non-Aryan tribes long before the Aryan migration took place in this part of the country, had been subsequently assimilated into the Brahmanical Icon.¹

In the Mahābhārata it is mentioned that Maṇināga was a deity of the Asuras;² and it was installed near Girivraja, a town of the demon-king Jarāsandha. It is further mentioned that Śrī Kṛṣṇa worshipped that deity with the Pāṇḍavas when he crossed over the five great mountains, that fortified the town of Jarāsandha. The name of these mountains are given in the Mahābhārata as follows :—

“पाण्डुरे विपुले चैव तथा वाराहके वि च ।
चैत्यकेच गिरिध्रेष्ठे मातङ्गं च शिलोन्मये ॥”

(Vide the Mahābhārata, Sabha Parva, XXI. Adhyāya, 11th Śloka.)

A second group of mountains is also mentioned in the Mahābhārata, Sabhā-Parva (XXI Adhyāya, 2nd. Śloka) as appended :—

“वैभारो विपुलः शैलो वाराहो वृषभस्तथा ।
तथा रूषिगिरिस्ततश्चन्द्रचैत्यकश्चन्द्रमाः ॥”

The first group consists of the mountains named (i) Pāṇḍara (2) vipula (3) Vārāha (4) Chaityaka and (5) Mātṅga. The second group consists of :—(i) Vaibhāra (2) Vārāha (3) Vṛishabha (4) Vipula and (5) Rishigiri. Dr. Bimal Charana Law has comprehensively dealt with the topographical aspect of these mountains³. Dr. R. C. Majumdar has also discussed the question elaborately in his paper on “identification of some old sites in Rājagṛīha.”⁴

1. In the Mahābhārata Ambikā is said to be the mother of Dhṛtarāshṭra. But, she is not taken as a goddess, having equal importance as that of Umā and that fit for worship.
2. The diety of this name (Maninagesvara) is found at the mouth of the Nagavali river in the Visakhapatna District (Vide *Gazetteer of the Visakhapatna District*, Vol. I, P. 10). Sewell says that the temple of Maninagesvara-Svami is situated in the village of Kallepalle, five miles S. E. of Srikakulam. This diety is said to have been placed there by Balarama, brother of Krishna. (Vide *Lists of Antiquarian Remains in the Presidency of Madras* (1852), Vol. I, pp. 9).
3. *Memoirs of the Arch. Sur. of India*, No. 58, pp. 44.
4. *J. R. A. S. B.*, Vol. XV (1943), No. 1, pp. 65-90.

Sri Law concludes that these mountain are located in Bihar, and that the "capital of Magadha which might have a view by persons from a distance from the Goratha-giri (modern Barābara-hills lay concealed, as it were, in Ladhra trees adorned all over with the fragrant and delightful blossoms. It also abounded with the beautiful groves of pippala trees. It was the place where once dwelt such holy personages as Rishi Dīrghatamas, the high-souled Gautama and the sage Kakshivān. It was again the place that contained the excellent abodes of Svastika and Maṇināga, the two serpents that tormented the enemies."

It is however an interesting fact to note that the following names of mountains and forests of Orissa have got coincidence with the names of mountains referred to above :—

Modern names*		Paurāṇic names	
(1) Paṇḍākhōl (Reserve Forest)	}	Paṇḍara
(2) Paṇḍripadā (Forest)			
(3) Pippalapāṇka or	}	Vipula
Bippala paṇka			
(4) Vārāhi-vana Vārāha
(5) Rushimāla Rushi-giri
(6) Coccha	} Gorath-giri
(7) Cocch-bādi			
(8) Rājagiri-Pāhāda	Rājagrih (Town)
and (9) Maṇināga-Pāhāda	Maṇināga-Pāhāda

The above names render an idea in our mind to review the entire topography of the epic-India to find out if there was another group of mountains in Orissa having a similar nomenclature, as is found in Bihar.

Regarding the Maṇināga, Pargiter says that there are three mountains of this name. One is a part of the Himālaya, as it was the son of Himavat by the Apsaras Menā. It was near the Kailāsa, Gandhamārdana and Sveta-Giri. Another Maināka is situated in the ocean where the Monkey-hero (Mārutī) took rest. And the third Maināka is in the western India, which was the

1. Gorathagiri is identified by Jackson and Barua, with the Barabara hill. Buddha Ghosha speaks about the existence of a Naga-world under Bebhara (*Vide Saratthapakasini*, Vol. I, pp. 33).

* See the Topographical Map of India as per numbers given here :—(1) 74-A-5; (2) 74-A-13; (3) 74-A-13; (4) 74-A-14; (5) 19°. 55N and 84°. 8' E; (6) 74-A-13; (7) 74-A-5; (8) 73-H-14 and (9) 73-H-8.

abode of the Rishi Chyavana (Vide The Mahā-bhārata, Vana-Parva, P. LXXXIX). According to Cunningham the river Son is called 'Maināka-prabha' or the son of Maināka.¹

The above statements prove that the name Maināka or Mañināka was used to distinguish certain mountains, situated in different parts of India. Similarly Mañināga happened to be a popular and tutelary deity of the Aśuras, for which reason it was installed in such conspicuous parts of the country where the Aśuras could leave and worship the deity without hinderence. The Mañiar-Muth, situated in Bihar, has already received universal approval for its identification with the epic-temple of mañināga. Dr. Bloch says² that after the excavation of the area at Mañiar-Muth the following stucco images of the 7th. century A. D. were un-earthed :—

(1) Liṅga; (2) Bāṇāsura; (3) Nāga; (4) Nāgī and (5) Gaṇeśa. Similar images, in large number, have been found in Orissa. Recently two anthropomorphic images of Nāga are discovered in a village (Sundarāpada) near Bhubaneswar. They are attributed to the early centuries of the Christian-era on stylistic grounds. Two Nāga images were also found near the Khandagiri-hill near Bhubaneswar which have been assigned to the Khāravēla-period, or the 1st. century B. C.³ A terracotta Nāga image has recently been found at Sitābiñji, a historical place in the District of Keonjhar in Orissa. Many Nāga images have been decorated in the temples of different ages of Orissa. In consideration of the above facts it is quite probable that the Nāga-cult was popular in Orissa since a very long time. Therefore, the tutelary god and goddess, namely Mañināga and Ambikā respectively of the Aśura tribes were continuously worshipped in this land with great pomp by one and all. The following dhyaṇa of the goddess Ambikā is mentioned in the "Sammohini Tantra", a palm-leaf manuscript found in my home library :—

“उद्यद्भास्वत्समाभ्यां विदित नव युयामिन्दु सङ्घा वनदा
द्योतन्वीलत्तीनेत्रां विविध [मणिगणैर्भूषिता मङ्ग] रागाम् ।
हार श्रेय काञ्चीगुण मणिवलया देविचित्रा म्बराङ्गाम्
मम्यां पाशाङ्कुशेषां भव परद करां प्रम्विकां तां नमामि ॥”

1. Arch. Sur. Rep., Vol. VIII, pp. 124.

2. Arch. Sur. of India. Annual Report, 1905-06, pp. 103-04.

3. These images are now preserved in the Orissa State-Museum, Bhubaneswar.

In the Amaravati-Stupa there is a Naga image of the 2nd-4th. century A. D., which was used as a cult-image. This image is similar in style to those found in Orissa.

(Vide J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XXVIII, [pp. 152-75].)

Its remnant is now traceable from the Nāga-worship, during the festival days of Nāga-Pañchamī and Nāguli-Chauthi, performed in the month of Śrāvaṇa.

It is not out of place to mention here that the term "Maṇināga-pīṭha" is used in the Khoh copper plate inscription of the Parivrajaka king Saṃkshobha, son of the king Hastin of the Gupta-year 201 (or 529 A.C.). The king Saṃkshobha granted a village named Aupāni for 'Vali' and 'Gaaru' of the goddess named piṣṭhāpuri (Vide Corp. Ind, Vol. III, pp. 114). It is not possible, for want of definite evidence, to know about the location of this Maṇināga-pīṭha.

Regarding the topographical aspect of the inscription under discussion, I have nothing to offer except that the village granted to the Brahmanas named as Śuṃkhalāka may be identified with the Modern village of Śukala, situated near the Maṇināga-parvata of Raṇapur of Orissa.

The date of the grant is either Samvat 1 or 7, Ā, Su. Dī. 20.4 (24). It discloses that the 'Purnimānta' system was followed in Orissa in the 6th. century A. D.

The officers namely Govinda, Paratishṭhita and Sivanandana, mentioned in this inscription, are not identified with the help of epigraphical sources.

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- I. With regard to the term "Maninaga-Pitha" Dr. D. C. Sircar, while editing the 'The Select Inscriptions' (Vol. I, p. 375) says that it should be read as "Maninaga-Petha"; and he interprets the suffix 'Petha' as a "territorial term". This term is nowhere met in epigraphical records as yet, on the other hand the 'E'-Matra of it looks like the 'I'-Matra. So, I propose to read it as "Maninaga-Pitha".
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TWO COPPER PLATE GRANTS FROM THE VILLAGE THEMRA IN THE SAMBALPUR DISTRICT

See plates

In May and June 1929 when I was busy in studying the records relating to the history of Mayurbhanj in the Record Room of the then Political Agent of Orissa States, these two copper plates, written in Oriya script, were brought to my notice. These copper plates were then found in possession of late Pardit Somanath Misra, the father of Sri Bipin Bihari Misra, a resident of the village Themra, situated in the Sadar Sub-Division of the Sambalpur District. Sri Bipin Bihari Misra is the 6th in descent from the donee Divyasimha Misra.

On the 26th of September 1953 through the courtesy of Sri Bipin Bihari Misra, I was able to re-examine the copper-plates and got their photographs which are reproduced in this paper.

A. The Copperplate grant of Jayanta Simha

This plate contains 11 lines of text on the first side and seven lines on the second side. It opens with the adorations to Śiva and a Sanskrit verse stating that Ajita Simha had a son named Jayanta Simha belonging to the Chauhāna dynasty. Jayanta Simha granted the village Sodaṅga (present Sodanga) to one Divyasimha Misra on the 20th April 1790 A. D. The date of grant is given in the Vikrama Samvat 1847 when there was an eclipse.

The script of the grant is, Oriya and the language is Sanskrit.

The conditions of the grant are as follows :

(1) The grant of village bounded by trees was made with the rights of the land and water and mines and minerals.

(2) The witnesses were (a) the Gurus, the Goddess Somalāl, Vimalēśvara and eight cardinal deities.

(3) The grant was made as long as the sun and the moon shine.

(4) No successor ruler or the persons belonging to four castes who would interfere in the grant will be involved in incurring the Ma'āpātaka.

The last verse was imprecatory one from the Śāstras of the grant.

The text of the grant is printed at the end of this paper.

B - The copperplate grant of Rajyesvari Ratna Kumāri, the Patta Mahishī (chief queen) of Jayanta Siṃha

This plate contains 10 lines on the first side and 9 lines on the second side. It opens with a sanskrit verse stating that Ratnakumārī, the scion of the Gaṅga family is the Patta-Mahishī of Jayanta Siṃha of the Chauhāna dynasty who was enthroned as the Rājy.śvarī by the officers.

People and the feudatory chiefs (Sarvā=mātya—Prajā-nṛpai). She gave in grant the village Themra to Divyasimna Misra in the bright fortnight of Tṛtiyā of Vaiśākha in the Saṃbat year 1861 corresponding to 1804 A. D.

The script of the grant is Oriya and its language is sanskrit.

The conditions of the grant are as follows :

(1) The grant is made with the rights of water, lands, and minerals situated within the boundary marked by trees of the village Themra.

(2) The witnesses of the grant are Dikpālas, Aditya and Chandra.

(3) The grant will last as long as the earth will bear the mountains, waters and forests and as long as the sun and the moon will arise.

(4) Those persons who will creat troubles in the village will suffer from committing the sin (Pātaka) of killing the cow, mixing the poison in the sacred dishes of lord Jagannātha at Puri and cohabiting with their own begotten at Kāsī.

The text of the grant is given bellow at the end of this paper.

Historical Note

The date of the copper-plate grant of Jayanta Siṃha is 28th April 1790 A. D. and that of Rājyeśvarī Ratnakumārī, the chief queen of Jayanta Siṃha is the month of Vaiśākha (April-May) of 1804.

Late Sriram Chandra Mallik, the retired Deputy Inspector of Schools of ex-Patna State, published in Oriya a short Koshala-Itihāsa in two parts. Part I deals with the history of Patna and part II the history of Sambalpur. Although Sriram Chandra Mallik has not given the sources of his book, yet he has left a good many materials for the traditional history of the Chauhāna families of Patna, Sonpur and Sambalpur. According to this history, Jayanta Siṃha, the king of Sambalpur ruled from 1782 to 1818. Ajita Siṃha, the father of Jayanta Siṃha ruled Sambalpur from 1742 to 1766. Ajita Siṃha had 8 queens and two sons named Abhaya Siṃha (whose mother was the 5th Rānī) and Jayant siṃha (who mother was the 6th Rānī). After death of Ajita Siṃha, Abhaya Siṃha ascended the throne of Sambalpur in 1766 and ruled upto 1777 A. D. Due to the partisan movent among the followers of two brothers Sambalpur had a trobulent time. The followers of Jayanta Siṃha declared him at a place near Bāmadā (Bamra) the king of Sambalpur in the presence of the neighbouring zamindars. On hearing this Akabara Rāya, the Dewan put Jayanta Siṃha and his followers in the prison without giving any water and food. After 21 days it was found that all the followers had lost their life, but Jayanta Siṃha was not there. It is not known as to how Jayanta Siṃha escaped. He not only escaped but went safely to Garhmandala where the Rājā appointed him as the Dafādār of 50 horsemen.

Raja Abhaya Siṃha died without any issue and where abouts of the next claimant Jayanta Siṃha were not known. Although there were more than one whose claim to the succession was rightful, Ākabara Rāya selected a boy from the family of Padmapura and enthroned him as the king of Sambalpur. By this arrangement of Ākabara Rāya, the Rājā of Sāraṅgagaḍa was very much dissatisfied and invited Jayanta Siṃha from Garh Mandala and helped him to invade Sambalpur. When Jayanta Siṃha appeared near the temple of Samalālī at Sambalpur, Akabara Rāya was frightened and begged pardon after presenting gold coins and performed the ceremony of Tikā of Jayanta Siṃha as the king of Sambalpur. After this king Jayanta Siṃha entered into the palace and killed the boy Balabhadra Sāo by dashing him against the throne and then Balabhadra's mother

was killed by throwing herself into a pan (Karāi) of boiling ghee. Soon after Jayanta Simha ordered to behead Ākabara Rāya and appointed his son as the Dewan of Sambalpur, who was again murdered by the order of the king. It is said that Jayanta Simha ordered one Māna Misra, the Dewan, to kill Manohara Simha of Khindā who was full of personal charms and beauty and who was suspected by the king for intriguing with the queens, but Māna Misra refused to obey the order and left the service. Jayanta Simha was able to carry out his designs through one Govinda of Sonpur who was appointed as the Dewan of Sambalpur.

According to Sriram Chandra Mallik's narrative, Jayanta Simha had three queens named Ratnakumārī, the daughter of Rājā Vaidyanātha Deo of Gangapura, Mukṭā Devī, the daughter of the Haihaya family and Rahasya Kumārī Devī, the daughter of the Baghela family. Queen Rahasya Kumārī gave birth to a son named Mahārāja Sāe, who was the son and successor of Jayanta Simha.

In this traditional account, Ratnakumārī has been described as the daughter of the Rājā of Gangapura who belongs to Nāga family, but in the copper-plate she describes her as the Gaṅgajā e.g. the daughter of the Gaṅga family. The Rājās of Bamra belongs to Gaṅga family. From this it appears that it is difficult now to ascertain the historical value of this traditional account. But we are lucky to have some English records of this period which furnish some contemporary evidence regarding the history of Ajita Simha, Abhay Simha, Ākabara Rāya, Jayanta Simha, Mahārāja Sāe, Ratnakumārī Devī and Mukṭā Devī of Sambalpur from 1766 to 1818.

In the tradition Jayanta Simha has been described to be involved in the internecine feuds and murder but that the period when such things were very common all over the country. From British records it is definitely known that Jayanta Simha inspite of various troubles was able to establish the independence in 1788 according to Foster's account of Nagpur in 1788 quoted below :

"On the south east Sambalpur and other independent petty Hindu States separate them from the Province of Cuttack which holds of Nagpur"¹

1. C. U. Wills *British Relations with Nagpur State in the 18th Century*, Nagpur, 1926, p96.

The history of Jayanta Simha up to 1800 A. D. is not known from any contemporay source. The narrative of history of Samabaldur of this period is well worth quoting below :

"About A. D. 1797, in the reign of Jeth Singh, successor to Ubhaya Singh, another violent quarrel with the Nāgpūr Marāthās took place. It appears that Nānā Sāhib a relation of the Nāgpūr Rājā was going on a pilgrimage to Jagannāth with a large party of followers. On his way he was treacherously set upon by the Saingarh and Sambalpur people, and also by those of Sonpur and Bod. He contrived, however to push his way to Cuttack, where there were some Marāthā troops. Bringing these with him on his return, after some severe fighting he took the Bod chief and Prithvī Singh, the chief of Sonpur, prisoners. He then encamped for the rainy season in the Sonpur country. Mean while Jeth Singh had been strengthening the Sambalpur fort in expetation of being attacked. As soon as the rains were over Nānā Sāhib appeared before Sambalpur, and regularly inveded the town. For five months he remained before the walls without being able to effect an entrance, but by chance one of his men discovered that the moat near the Samalāl gate was fordable. The Nānā, on hearing this, assembled his people, made a rush across the moat, and forced the gate."

The above account is corroborated by Cololebrook's despatch No. 32 dated Nagpur, the 6th April 1800 to the Governor General which is quoted below :

"Intelligence was yesterday received that the fort of Sambalpur has been surprised by the Rājā of Berar's troops and taken with little resistance. This occurrence has been deemed of sufficient magnitude to be annouced by a salute which was yesterday fired from the park of artillery. Sambalpur was the principal fortress of a chief of mountaineers, who takes his title from that place and who holds an extensive tract of country between Chhattisgarh and Cuttack. He was nominally subject to this government, but did almost maintain independency and only paid small tribute very irregularly. Governing a numerous tribe of hardy mountaineers and possessing such a stronghold as Sambalpur, he had been hitherto able to elude the power of the Rājā of Berar : and all attempts to subdue his country had invariably failed. The reduction of his strongest fortress will, it is thought, be now followed by his speedy submission and by the

full establishment of the Marāthā authority throughout his territories. The sudden attack which has been thus successful was not preconcerted Chandāji Bhonsle, an officer of the Rājā's troops, being in the neighbourhood, strayed with two rocketmen into the forest of bamboo canes which surrounds the fort and coming unexpectedly upon it, found it carelessly guarded and remarked that the wall had fallen into the ditch in one place. He wantonly threw a rocket into the fort by which the thatched buildings it contains were accidentally set on fire. Observing that the garrison was busied in endeavouring to extinguish the fire without suspecting the occasion of it, Chandāji sent for troops from the camp who arrived in time to surprise the fort. They made themselves masters of it and put the garrison to the sword."³

The subsequent story is narrated as follows :

"The fort was taken after a fierce resistance, the Rājā Jeth Singh and his son Mahārāja Sā being taken prisoners. The Nānā Sāhib took them off to Nagpur with him, and the Nagpur Rājā had them confined at Chāndā. Bhūp Singh, a Marāthā Jamzār, was left in charge of Sambalpur to collect revenue, and administer the country in behalf of the Marāthā government. Bhup Singh, however, soon got into trouble with his government, and on being summoned to Nagpur, refused to go. The Nagpur Rājā then sent a large force to compel him to obedience, but getting the assistance of the Rāigarh and Sārangarh people, he lay in ambush at the Singhorā pass, where he drove back the Marāthās, and completely routed their force. He, however, foolishly made an enemy of one Chamrā Gaonthiyā, by 'looting' his village, which was near the pass. Consequently some short time after, when a second body of Marāthās arrived from Nagpur, Chamrā, instead of sending word to Bhup Singh, placed the Marāthā troops in ambush in the same pass where they had been previously defeated, and sending word to Bhup Singh that a few troopers only were looting the country on the western side of the ghāt, induced him to bring a force through it, when the Marāthās fell upon his party and almost annihilated it. Bhup Singh fled to Sambalpur, whence, taking the Rānīs of Jeth Singh with him, he retired to Kolābira."⁴

This happened at Sambalpur not long before the war of 1803 with the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur by the East India

4. Grants C.P. Gazetteer, 1870, p. 453.

3. C. U. Will's *British Relation with Nagpur State in the 18th century* pp. 150-151

Company. The British force occupied Cuttack in October 1703 and "Lt. Col. Broughton occupied Sambalpur on the 22nd January 1804."

"On their arrival, Tātā Pharnavis, the Marāthā manager who had replaced Bhup Singh, withdrew with all his people to Nagpur".⁶

After occupation of Sambalpur, the British authorities did not find any body to make Treaty alliance perhaps due to absence of Jayanta Simha or his son Mahārāja Sāi from Sambalpur in January 1804, and perhaps they did not want to establish any political relation with the Rānīs of Jayanta Simha. The clause 10 of the Treaty of Deogaon dated the 17th November 1803 included the territories occupied by the British after the date of the Treaty as the cession of territories in perpetual sovereignty by the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur. Due to reluctance of the Bhonsla Raja, the British Government restored the Sambalpur and Patna area to him by the Treaty dated the 24th August 1806. Although the Sambalpur and Patna area was under the British occupation from January 1803 to August 1806, neither the British nor the Marāthā administration was operative there. This unusual political situation finds favour in the assumption of the ruling power by the Rajyeshvarī Ratnakumārī Devī as mentioned in her copper-plate grant issued in April-May 1804 in which she is described as being elevated to the position of the Rajyeshvarī by all officers, people and the feudatories during the period of the absence of her husband Jayanta Simha and his son Mahārāja Sāi in the prison at Chāndā by the Bhonsala Raja. As the British authorities in that period were supporting the feudatories of the Bhonsla Raja of Nagpur for their separate existence, it seems that Rānī Ratnakumārī was supported by the British military officers in asserting her claim over the Sambalpur State.

The subsequent history of Sambalpur has been described by Hamilton in his *Hindoostan*, Vol. II, 1820, pp. 20-21 as follows :

"In August 1803, adverting to the friendly relations then subsisting with the Nagpoor State, the British Government agreed to restore the territories of Sumbhulpoor and Patna, consisting of the following pergunnahs, viz.

5. C. U. Will's *British Relation with the Nagpur State in the 18th century*, p. 185.
6. Grant's *C. P. Gazetteer*, 1870, p. 453.

Sumbhulpoor¹, Sohnpoor², Saurungur³, Burgur⁴, Saktee⁵, Serakole⁶, Benria⁷, Bonee⁸, Kartickpoor⁹, Patna¹⁰, Khas Patna¹¹, Nawagur¹², Gharilano¹³, Tanagur¹⁴, and Borra Summbah¹⁵. To these cessions, however, the Zemindars of Sumbhulpoor and Patna opposed so effectual a resistance, that in 1807, the Nagpoor state was obliged to solicit the assistance of the British government, being unable itself to raise funds sufficient to equip an adequate force. Mr. Elphinstone, who then resided as ambassador at Nagpoor, was in consequence directed to interpose with the zemindars, many of whom refused to be thus transferred, and as the British government was bound by treaty either to support them in their independence, or to find them compensations within its own territories; it was compelled to adopt the latter alternative.

× × × × ×

“After trying open force without success, the Maharattas in 1808 obtained possession of Sumbhulpoor by an act of the most deliberate treachery. In effectuating this, they first entered into a solemn engagement, confirmed by oaths and religious ceremonies, by the conditions of which the Ranny, or Queen on paying up arrears and settling the future amount of the revenue, was to be left in independent possession. Having thus lulled her suspicions, they took advantage of her confidence, suddenly attacked her troops, and took the fortress by surprise. The Ranny being thus perfidiously assailed escaped with great difficulty, and arrived in such distress on the British frontier, where she solicited and received protection from the Government, and to support her dignity had a pension of 600 rupees per month assigned.”⁷

After the Marāthā occupation of Sambalpur in 1808, both Rāni Ratnakumārī Devi and Rāni Mukṭā Devi had to leave Sambalpur and take shelter in the British occupied area. Rāni Ratnakumārī Devī went to Hazaribagh, the headquarters of the then South-West Frontier Agency of Bengal and sought help from the Lt. Col. Broughton, the Agent to the Governor-General, at whose proposal, the Government of Bengal sanctioned a monthly allowance Rs. 600/- for her maintenance. Similarly Rānī Mukṭā Devī went to Cuttack where at the instance of the Commissioner, the Government of Bengal granted her the Zamindary of Panchāgarh in the Puri District for her maintenance.

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1. Sambalpur, 2. Sonpur, 3. Sarangarh. 4. Bargarh, 5. Sakti, 6. Lerakhol, 7. Bamra, 8. Bonai, 9. Kartikpur, 10. Patna, 11. Khas Patna, 12. Nawagarh or Bendra Nawagarh, 13. not identified, 14. not identified, 15. Borasambar.

After the defeat of the Raja of Nagpur in 1817, Sambalpur area came under the British occupation. Major Roughsedge, the Commander of Ramgarh Battalion stationed at Hazaribagh was placed in charge of the Sambalpur area. He pleaded the cause of the release of Raja Jayanta Simha and his son Mahārāja Sāl with Sir Richard Jenkins, the Resident at Nagpur and obtained their release from Chāndā in 1817. Raja Jayanta Simha was restored to power in 1817, but he died in 1818. With the death of Jayanta Simha the feudal superiority of Sambalpur came to an end. His son Mahārāja Sāl was made Rājā of Sambalpur in 1820 but the dependency of the feudatory chiefs of Sambalpur Athargarh was annulled and they were granted separate Sanads having direct relation with the British Government in 1821.

From the history of Sambalpur written by Sriram Chandra Mallik, it is found that Rānī Ratnakāmari died at Hazaribagh after her return from the pilgrimage at Banaras before 1817. After restoration of Sambalpur to Raja Jayanta simha, Rānī Mukta Devī was brought from Panchāgarh to Sambalpur. She outlived her husband and was allowed Rs- 1000/- p. m. from the revenue of Sambalpur during the reign of Mahārāja Sāl who ruled Sambalpur upto 1827. No information is available about her subsequent life.

A. Copper-plate grant of Jayanta Simha

TEXT

First side

- L1. नमः शिवाय ॥ श्री वीराजितसिंह देव नृपतिस्त्रोहाण बंशो
- L2. द्भवः श्री महीर जयन्तसिंह नृपति स्तयात्मजो नामतः ॥
- L3. युष्मत्सन्ध मनोरथहि भवते ग्रामायिनेऽहं नमस्तु
- L4. वै मिथ कुलोन्नत स्वविधया श्री दिव्यसिंहायते ॥ वैशा
- L5. खे किल पूर्णिमादिनगते चन्द्रग्रहे दत्तवान् राजा सप्तसमृद्ध नाग— १८४७
- L6. धरणी संख्येन्दके सम्भते ॥ षोडशैति च यस्यनाम विदितं
- L7. श्री सोमला संनिधौ तं ग्रामं सजलस्यलनिधिसातदचदुसीमान्वितं ॥
- L8. दानेस्मिन्मम साक्षिणो गुरुगणः श्री श्री सोमला शामला नान्धाता विमले
- L9. स्वरोऽपि च तथाष्टौलोकपालाः परे ॥ चन्द्राकावपि च क्षिता
- L10. बुदयते यावन्निभूत अय सावद्भुक्ति रिहास्तुतेऽय मुतरां या
- L11. वत् पितुः शासनं ॥ जयन्त सिंहः सततं नरेन्द्र ये भाविन स्ता—

Second side

- L1. न् स्वकुले ययाचे ॥ मृ. मृदुपालयतेष धर्मः
 L2. सनातनः स्वास्य उचममेति ॥ ये ब्राह्मणाः क्षत्रियाश्च
 L3. वैश्याः शूद्रास्तर्थावच ॥ उपद्रवान् करिष्यन्ति कार—
 L4. पिष्यन्ति वा पुनः ॥ ग्रामे तसि मन् शासनेव भूत
 L5. उदं मदियके ॥ महापातक राक्षिच ते प्रा
 L6. प्स्यन्ति न संधयः ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरे
 L7. र्द्धं वसुध्वरो ॥ स विष्ठायां कृमिर्मुत्वा पच्यते पितृभिः सह ॥

B. Copper-plate grant of Rājyesvari Ratna Kumārī,
 the Pattamahishi (chief queen) of Jayanta Simha of Sambalpur.

TEXT

First side

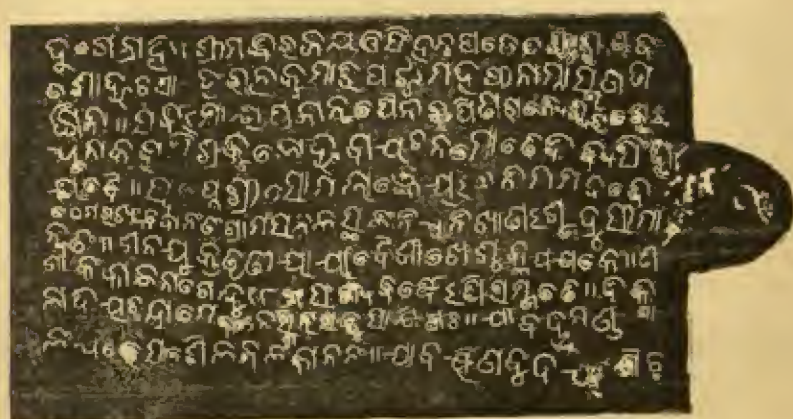
- L1. हुने जाहि । श्यामदीर जयन्त सिंह नृपते रचोहाणवं—
 L2. शोभव स्याद्दह रत्नकुमारी पटमहिषी नाम्ना स्मृता य
 L3. ज्ञा ॥ सर्वास्मात्प्रजापतृषु निरुपिता राज्ञ्येश्वरित्वे
 L4. धुनाकृत्वा मिश्र कुलो भवाय नमाते दिव्यसिंहा
 L5. य वं ॥ स्वप्ने शु। सीमलाक्षत्यर्जनि मम ददे
 L6. ठेमरिखं च दानं तं ग्रामं सजलस्थल निधिनिसाताश्चक्षुसीमा
 L7. न्वितं ॥ क्षनियुक्त तृतीयायां वैशाखे शुक्लपक्षके ॥ श
 L8. शाङ्क काल नागैन्दु १८६१ संख्य वर्षेऽपि सम्भते ॥ दिक्पा
 L9. लादित्यचन्द्रा मे दानेस्मिन् सन्तु साक्षिणः ॥ यावद्भूमण्ड—
 L10. लं धत्ते सशैलजलकाननं । यावत्क्षिता बुदपती च—

Second side

- L1. न्द्रार्को भूत संधयः ॥ तावत्त्वं दान भोगेन भो
 L2. क्तव्यं निरुपद्रव ॥ ग्रामेऽस्मिन्मनुजा उपद्रवाकराः
 L3. केचिन्मदिष्यन्ति ये ते योनाशन पा
 L4. तक प्रकर मञ्जन्तः प्रयाने नराः
 L5. क्षत्रो श्री पुरुषात्तमे श्री जगन्ना
 L6. धास्मताश्चै विप दातृणां गति—
 L7. माप्नुयुश्च रमतां काक्ष्यां नृणां संप्रसू ॥
 L8. शा श्री श्री रत्नकुमारीपुर शासन ए सहि

B. The Copper plate grant of Rājyesvari Ratna Kumārī.

(Obverse)



(Reverse)

Two copper plate grants from the village Taemra in the Sambalpur District.

(See page 56)

THE MĀTHARAS OF KALIŅGA

PRIY SRI-DR. D. C. SIRCAR,

During the last twenty years, I had several occasions to deal with the fifth-sixth century history of the Kalinga country, in which the kings of a family called Māthara (at first wrongly read Māgadha) played an important part. See *Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. X, 1934, pages 780 ff.; *Journal of the Department of Letters Calcutta University*, Vol. XXVI, 1935, Article No. 1, pp. 63 ff.; *The Successors of the Śātavāhanas in the Lower Deccan*, Calcutta, 1939, pp. 74 ff.; *A New History of the Indian People*, Vol. VI, edited by Majumdar and Altekar, Lahore, 1946 pp. 76 ff. In recent years also, I had to write on the same subject for the Bhāratiya Bidyā Bhavan's *The History and Culture of the Indian People*, Vol. III (in the press) and the Indian History Congress's *History of India*, Vol. III (in the press). During these years, several other scholars have also written on the above subject, its most comprehensive treatment being attempted by Mr. B. V. Krishna Rao in his *A History of the Early Dynasties of Andhradeśa*, Madras, 1942, pp. 384 ff. But little did any of these writers on the early history of Kalinga, including myself, know of a Māthara inscription of outstanding importance that had been published as early as 1930.

About the end of 1951, I had the opportunity of examining a bundle of impressions of various inscriptions, mostly published, which were received at the office of the Government Epigraphist of India at Ootacamund from Sri Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb,¹ the Senior Raja Saheb of Tekkali formerly in the Ganjam District but now in the Srikakulam District of the Madras State. One set of impression of a copper-plate inscription in the bundle engaged my attention especially and I spent considerable time in an attempt to decipher the record in spite of the very unsatisfactory nature of the impressions. Fortunately I succeeded in reading completely the first half of the record and was glad to find that the inscription not only gives the names of three generations of the Māthara kings of Kalinga but

1. The present note was written by me and was sent for publication in April 1952. It is a great regret to me that the Senior Raja Saheb of Tekkali died in August 1953 before its publication.

also speaks of the imperial position explicitly claimed at least by one of them. As hitherto only two kings of the family viz. Śaktivarman and Anantaśaktivarman, were known from their inscriptions, I was eager then to examine the original plates or their satisfactory impressions for preparing a complete transcript of the record. Unfortunately my letters to the Senior Raja Saheb of Tekkali failed to secure any information regarding the whereabouts of the original plates. The bundle of impressions was however returned to him.

About the middle of March 1952, while returning from my tour in East Bengal, Tripura and Assam, I broke journey at the Naupada Station on the Bengal-Nagpur Railway and went to Tekkali to meet the Raja Saheb for informations about the inscription in question. Imagine my disappointment when the Raja Saheb told me that the original plates were seoured by him for examination about twentyfive years ago, that they were returned to the owner after a few sets of their impressions had been prepared for his use and that he remembered nothing about the source whence the plates reached him. Unfortunately the Raja Saheb could not remember anything inspite of the fact that the set of impressions of the record in question, which was received by me for examination, was found to bear a note in Oriya saying that the plates were received severally from the villages of Kānnāyāvalasā and Āḍavā. Owing to the shortness of the time at my disposal, it was not possible for me just then to arrange for a visit to the above villages, of which Kānnāyāvalasā was reported to be about nine miles away from Tekkali. In spite of this apparent failure of my mission at Tekkali, I was very fortunate in two respects. The Raja Saheb was kind enough to supply me with a different set of fairly satisfactory impressions of the inscription in question as well as with a set of copies of his published articles. These impressions enabled me to decipher the inscription completely and one of the Raja Saheb's articles gave me some informations regarding the source whence he secured the plates for examination about twentyfive years ago.

It was found that an article from the Raja Saheb's pen on the above inscription was published in the *Vaitarani* (issue of June, 1930, pp. 293 ff.) which was published from Cuttack by Messrs. L. N. Sahu and B. Singh Deo but is now defunct. The author says that in 1928 he examined a single plate inscribed on both sides in the possession of Patnaikuni Gopalakrishna Varma of Kānnāyāvalasā and recognised it to be the second plate of a set of three. The first and third plates of the same set were secured by him for examination from a goldsmith of Āḍavā in

the Parlakimedi Taluk. Thanks of the world of scholars are due to the Raja Saheb of Tekkali who thus succeeded in recovering the complete charter out of the loose plates that found their way to two different places. His transcript of the inscription, published in the above mentioned article and printed in Oriya alphabet, no doubt contains many lacunae and errors; but I am glad to note that he read the name of the royal family correctly as Māṭhara (instead of Māgadha). He also read the names of the issuer of the charter and his ancestors correctly; but his reading of many of the passages and their interpretation are defective.

The inscription, as read by me from the impressions kindly supplied by the Raja Saheb, was issued from the victorious Siṅghapura (Simpapura) by Māhārāja Prabhañjanavarman who is described as meditating on (or favoured by) the feet of Bhagavat-svāmi-Nārāyaṇa and as the increaser of the fame of the Māṭhara dynasty. He is further said to have been an ornament of his own family and the lord of the entire Kalinga country. Prabhañjanavarman was the son of Śaktivarman who is said to have ruled over the land lying between the Kṛishṇaveṇṇā and the Mahānadī as if the people of the area were his own sons. Śaktivarman's father was Saṅkaravarman.

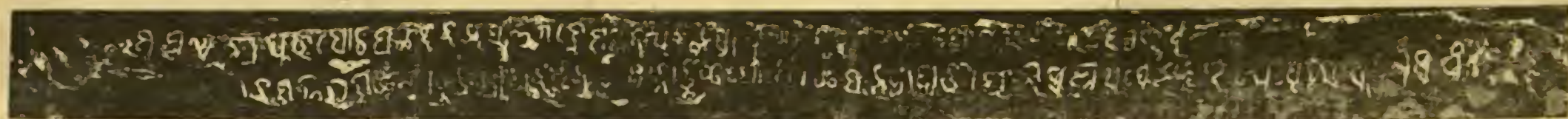
Of the three kings of the Māṭhar dynasty mentioned in the inscription under review (viz. Saṅkaravarman, his son Śaktivarman and the latter's son Prabhañjanavarman), Śaktivarman alonewas so long known to scholars. His father Saṅkaravarman and son Prabhañjanavarman are known only from this inscription. It seems now that king Anantaśaktivarman of the same family was not the son of Śaktivarman as suggested by me in the *New History of the Indian People*, p.79. He was probably a son of Prabhañjanavarman and grandson of Śaktivarman.

Śaktivarman's claim to have been the ruler of the entire land lying between the Kṛishṇā and Mahānadī rivers is apparently on a par with the claim of the rulers of this family to have been lords of the entire Kalinga country. As pointed out by me elsewhere (*ibid.*, p.81) the claim merely "points to the political ideal of the period which may or may not have been realised in practice."

The inscription records the grant of a locality called Niṅgoṇḍi, which was situated on the Bay of Bengal, as an agrahāra in favour of a number of Brāhmaṇas. It is however interesting to note that the agrahāra was not made a revenue-free holding. The annual rent fixed for it was two hundred paṇas

probably of cowries.* A number of such revenue-paying grants have been discussed by me in a paper entitled "Soma Kara-śāsanas of Ancient Orissa" recently contributed to the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland*. An article on the same subject has also been published by me in the Bengali journal *Itihāsa*, Calcutta, Vol. II, No. 2, 1358, B.S., pp. 115-20 I am glad to find another grant of the same type in the present inscription.

2. It may be pointed out here that an absolutely fantastic interpretation of the passage in question has been offered in *J.A.H.B.S.*, Vol. XIX, p. 127.



Oriya Inscription from Trisilia

AN ORIYA INSCRIPTION FROM TRISILIA NEAR AGARAPARA

(With a plate)

By Bipin Behari Nath

In the month of February 1953, while I was touring Agarapara area in Balasore district of Orissa in search of historical antiquities, Śrī Gopinath Das, the cousin of Dr. H. K. Mahatab, of the village Agarapara kindly showed me an inscription in a near-by village, named Trisilia. The inscription has been engraved on the right side of a couchant bull installed in front of a Śiva līṅga named as Bhutanātha Deva. The inscription contains two lines of writing and its language is Oriya. On cleaning the surface of the inscription, the writing was found to be in a good state of preservation on the whole. Some letters at the beginning and the end are found to have been damaged perhaps by weather action. Below is given the text of the inscription. The orthographic peculiarities are found in the words Subharāje Aśhādha, Śukula, Br̥shabha and Keśava where Sa has been used in place of Śa and in Poa, 'O' sign has been used for 'u' sign. In līṅga, the sign for 'ñ' is shown as 'm'

Translation.

श्री भूतनाथ श्री पुरुषोत्तमदेवक सुभराजे^१ समस्त षष्ठक साहि
मासाद^२ सुकल^३ चतुर्दशी गरुबारे ए बृष घटण होइल ।

ए बृषभ^४ षड्मास कुण्डि ग्रामर लिपं तिहादिक^५ पोब^६
केसव^६ तिहाड़ि । श्री भूतनाथ देवक, दिला.....

Translation

Line 1. Sri Bhutanātha. On Thursday, the 14th (Tithi) of the bright fortnight of Aśhādha, in the 7th Aṅka of the auspicious reign of Purusottama Deva, this bull was made.

1. Read Śubharājye, 2. Read Āśhādha, 3. Read Śukala (Śukla) 4. Read Br̥shabha, 5. Read Pua, 6. Read Keśava.

Line 2. This bull was caused to be made by Keśava Tihādi, son of Liṅga Tihadi of the village Kūṇḍi and dedicated to Lord Bhutanātha Deva.

The text of the inscription show that it is throughout in prose with the opening words "Sri Bhutanātha". The object of the inscription is that Kesava Tihādi, son of Liṅga Tihādi of the village Kuṇḍi, donated a bull to the Śiva liṅga called Bhutanātha Deva. The language appears to be correct Oriya of the period.

I edit the inscription from the impression taken from the original stone by me. I have not been able to decipher four or five letters at the end of the inscription as they are too much blurred. Perhaps the name of the scribe is there. The village Kuṇḍi, to which the donor of the inscription belonged, has been identified by me with a village of the same name, that lies 1½ mile to the north of Trisilia, the findspot of the inscription under discussion. Hence, it is ascertained that the Śiva liṅga remains there from the time of Purushottama Deva as the presiding deity of the Agarapara area even till now.

The alphabets of the inscription show that most of them are like the modern oriya letters and in some cases, a few are in transitionary stage. Sometimes, one and the same letter is found to have been written in slightly different form. Different letters sometimes look so alike in their form that it becomes difficult to determine the exact word. So reliance on the context has become necessary at times for proper identification of the terms.

The inscription is very important as it helps us in fixing the year of accession of Purushottama Deva. So long, divergent views have been maintained by different scholars on this issue. Late R. D. Banerji has maintained the view that Purushottama Deva came to the throne in 1470¹ A. D.

Sri P. Mukherjee writes "The Jagannāth temple inscriptions prove that Purushottama's claim to the throne was not recognised in North Orissa before A.D. 1470²". Sri G. Rāmadās holds the view that Purushottama was announced king as soon as breath left Kapilesvara's body³. The same writer also further observes that Kapilesvara Deva died in November 1466⁴ A.D. His arguments seem to be more convincing. Dr. H. K. Mahatab in his

1. History of Orissa Vol. I p. 307.

2. I. H. Q. Vol. XII P. 40

3. J. B. R. S. Vol. XXXII P 21

4. Ibid

History of Orissa also has fixed A.D. 1466-1467 as the period of reign of Purushottama Deva⁵. Generally it is believed that the son of the deceased king succeeds to the throne immediately after the death of the father according to the established convention that a king never dies. Accordingly, Purushottama Deva actually sat on the throne after the death of his father. Therefore his first year or the second Aṅka must have been reckoned from the day of the death of his father and continued till the date of the beginning of his third Aṅka. on the day of Suniān (the Bhādrapada Śukla dvādaśī) the official new year of Orissa. For this reason, his second Aṅka extends from 1466 A.D. to 1467 A.D. Now the calculation of his Aṅka years is as follows : —

1466—67	A.D. is the 2nd Aṅka
1467—68	„ „ 3rd „
1468—69	„ „ 4th „
1469—70	„ „ 5th „
1470—71	„ „ 6th „

Let us see how far these dates as calculated above tally with some of the inscriptions of Purushottama Deva that have been discovered. Firstly, there is one Srikurmam temple inscription⁶ which lays down “Saka 1392, Purushottama Deva Rājye 7 Aṅka Āsvina Suddha Pratipadā. This date and other astronomical particulars as given exactly corresponds to 24th September, Tuesday, 1470⁷ A. D. There is also another inscription⁸ which gives us the date “Saka 1393, Samasta 7 Śrāhi Āṣāḍha Su 2 Gūrūbār. This date also exactly corresponds to Thursday, June 20, 1471⁹ A. D. Hence these two records prove beyond doubt that the 7th Aṅka of Purushottama Deva was 1470-71 A. D. Taking this as the starting point of counting backward the other Aṅka years of Purushottama Deva, we reach 1466-67 as the 2nd Aṅka. From this, it is now proved that the reign period of Purushottama Deva, as fixed up by Dr Mahatab and G. Rāmadās, seems quite correct.

There is an unpublished palmleaf manuscript, named Chakaḍā Basāṇa*, in the Orissa State Museum. I cite below some references

5. *Orissa Itihāsa* (Oriya Version) P 163
6. *S. I. I.* Vol. V. P. 458 No. 1247
7. *Indian Ephemeris* Vol V
8. *A. R.* 274 of 1895 Published in *S. I. I.* Vol. V. P 320, No. 1153
9. *Indian Ephemeris* Vol. V.

* Chakaḍā-Basāṇa (Assessment of gift of the landed properties) was first published before 1920 by late Pandit Mrtyaunjaya Rath in *Utakla Sahitya*. Ch. Ed.

from the manuscript that further corroborate my above view regarding the accession year of Purushottama Deva. The author of the manuscript is Fakīr Chayani and the time of its compilation is circa 16th century.

1. Sri Vira Gajapati.....Śrī Purushottama Devaṅka 7 Aṅka Srāhi Kumbha Sukla Dvādasi bhoga jāi Trayodasi Ravivāre bhāga lekhiuākū anvkla kale.

The astronomical particulars exactly correspond to Sunday, February 3rd 1471 A. D. of Indian Ephemeris Vol V 7.

2. Pāṅcha Aṅka Kūmbh Śūkla Pañchamī Bhṛiguvāsare Rohinī nakshatre Śrī Mahāsrama naara anukūla kale.

According to our above calculation, the 5 Aṅka is 1469-70 and the astronomical particulars according to Indian Ephemeris exactly correspond to the 17th February, Friday, 1469 A. D.

Lastly our present Trisilia Inscription supplies us” Sri Purusottama Devanka subha rāje samasta 7 Aṅka Srāhi Āshāḍha Sukala Chaturdasi Gūrūbāre”. Here also the astronomical details correspond exactly to the 12th July, Thursday, 1470 A. D. (see Indian Ephemeris, Vol V).

Again, from the translation of Bhakti Bhāgabat Mahākāvya,¹⁰ it appears that Purusottama Deva “having whitened the world with fame, and having reigned for 30 years died on the bank of Chītrotpalā. When this thirty years is added to 1466-67, then the last Anka of Purusottama Deva falls on 1496-97 A. D. This 1497 A. D. has been accepted by R. D. Banerji, Sri C. Rāma Das and Dr. H. K. Mahatab as the last year of Pūrusottama Deva’s reign. I am to conclude now, on the strength of the above evidence, that Purusottama Deva’s 2nd Anka began from 1466-67 A. D. and his last Anka was 1496-97 A. D. I think that the discovery of Trisilīā inscription at last has put an end to a long standing controversy regarding the accession year of Purusottama Deva in the history of Orissa. In writing this paper, I have not referred to any one of the Jagannath temple inscriptions as the correctness of the reading is still doubted by scholars.

10. Report on the Search for Sanskrit Manuscripts [1901-2 to 1905] by M. M. H. P. Sastri P, 15

APPENDIX I

**KITTCE'S EXPLORATION IN ORISSA
1836-38**

With kind permission of the
Asiatic Society, Calcutta

(II)

NOTE

Markham Kittø was attached to the Military Department, but he was a keen student of Archaeology in India. Major General John Campbell C. B. in his "*A personal Narrative of thirteen years service among the Wild Tribes of KHONDISTAN for the suppression of Human Sacrifice*," London, 1864, writes as follows about Kittø's work :—

"Some remains of its ancient greatness were evident as late as the year 1838, when Lieutenant Kittø, during a tour in the country, acknowledge that it (Orissa) possessed more temples, sacred spots, and reliqs, than any other province in Hindustan." (p. 5-6).

In his book entitled "*A Memoir on the Indian Surveys*" Clements R. Markham, C. B., F. R. S., London 1878, has written about Kittø as follows :—

"Among the most indefatigable of Prinsep's coadjutors was Lieutenant Kittø, who investigated the ruins in Orissa, and discovered an important series of inscriptions on a rock at Dhauli, in Cuttack. Those discovered by Kittø at Dhauli, in Cuttack, proved to be identical with those received from Girnar in Gujrat, being a series of inscriptions of king Asoka".

"He was Curator and Librarian to the Asiatic Society at Calcutta until 1838, when he was appointed to survey the road to Bombay. He died soon after returning to England in 1853." (p. 244)

During the Ghumsar disturbances, he was deputed by the Government of Bengal, in November, 1836 and in course of his journey with the sepoy, he had the occasion of visiting Jajpur, Chhatia, Chaudwar, Cuttack, Rautrapur and Baidyeswar.

We do not find any account of Lt. Kittø from the middle of December 1836 to the middle of March 1837.

Lt. Kittø's letter dated the 2nd April, 1837 addressed to the Secretary, Asiatic Society, Calcutta reporting the discovery of the Dhauli Edicts of Asoka, was noticed in the Proceedings of 3rd May, 1837, in the issue of Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for April, 1837 (see below extract F under Part I.)

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of the 11th June 1837, the following was noticed in connection with the activities of Lt. Kittø.

(III)

"Read a letter from Lieutenant Kittoe, stating that he had despatched a cart to *Tamlook* to take down the *Bhubaneswar* slabs, the restoration of which had given the greatest satisfaction to the priests and people.

"Lieutenant Kittoe also forwarded copies of the principal inscription in the old *Lat* character at *Aiwasthma* near *Dhoulé* in *Orissa* with short account of the caves and temples discovered there by himself and a map of the place.

"Lieutenant Kittoe also presented facsimiles of a copper grant in three plates dug up in the *Gumsur* country, of which the Secretary with the aid of *KAMALAKANT Pandit* supplied a translation", vide *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. VI, 1837, p. 402. (See extract E, below under Part I)

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society of the 6th September 1837 the following was recorded :

"Lieutenant Kittoe reported the discovery of several further inscriptions at *Cuttack*, particularly of one occupying 270 square feet, which had been carefully covered over with plaster to save it from the spoliating hand of collecting antiquarians. A portion had chipped off and the priests were now willing to expose the whole". vide *J.A.S.B.* 1837, p. 703.

It seems from the mention of 'priests' in connection with inscriptions covering an area of 270 sq. ft., that Kittoe knew about the inscriptions on the two sides of the jambs of the *Lingaraja* temple at *Bhubaneswar*, but Kittoe was not successful in getting them copied.

In the proceedings of 1st November 1837 the following is recorded :—

"Read a letter from Lt. Kittoe, 6th Regt. forwarding two manuscripts *Journals* kept by himself on a march with his regiment to *Cuttack* and then to the *Boad* and *Gumsur* country.

"These *Journals* contain minute and beautifully executed drawings of all the temples and antiquities met with on his route, with all the information on every subject he was enabled to pick up. His visit to *Bhubaneswar* and to the *Khandgiri* hills have formed the subject of separate memoirs". (See extracts A to D below under Part I.)

In the proceedings of the meeting of the Asiatic Society for December 1837 published at p. 936 in the issue of the *Journal* for November 1837, the following was recorded by J. Prinsep, the Secretary.

"Lt. Kittoe forwarded facsimile of ancient inscription on the *Khandagiri* rock, of which an imperfect copy is given in *Stirling's Report* on *Cuttack*.

"Lt. Kittoe had seized the first moment to run out by *Dak* to the spot, a distance of 40 miles, in order to effect this object. He was obliged to construct a scaffolding to get at the writing, and the transcription was continued even by torch-light ; being much worn, it was found that the morning and evening shadows allowed the fairer chance of restoring the doubtful letters."

"The result of this spirited-undertaking has been to bring to light a very curious document entirely different from those hitherto to read, in the *lat* character. It is of a somewhat later date, and there are already several modifications of the alphabetical forms."

In the issue of J. A. S. B. for the December 1837, J. Prinsep, Secretary, A. S. B., wrote the following in the paper entitled "*Notes on Inscriptions at Udayagiri and Khandagiri in Cuttack, in the lat character*"

"I have already mentioned that on Lieutenant Kittoe's departure for Cuttack, I requested him to take the first opportunity of visiting the Khandagiri rock for the purpose of re-examining the inscription of which a Lithograph was published by Mr. Stirling in his *Statistical Report* on the province of Orissa.

"My zealous friend saw enough, several months ago on a rapid visit there, to prove that the published copy was very incorrect; but it was only lately that he was able to repair to the spot again (a distance of 20 miles from Cuttack) to examine and copy the document in detail. I shall presently quote his own account of the difficulties he had to encounter in accomplishing the task I had imposed on his zeal and good nature; but first I would call attention to a number of short inscriptions in the old character which he discovered on the occasion of his first visit, in the various caves of the neighbouring hill called Udayagiri: and which he carefully re-compared on his late trip, so as to leave no doubt of their accuracy. (For Kittoe's notes see extract F. below under Part I).

From above note it is found that Kittoe visited Khandagir and Udayagiri in November and December 1837 in order to prepare the eye copy of the Hathigumpha inscription out of which a facsimile was prepared in a reduced scale by Prinsep who wrote the following in this connection.

"Nothing short of an impression (and from the nature of the rock an impression was impossible) could surpass in fidelity Mr. Kittoe's twice-compared facsimile, which is given on a reduced scale in plate LVIII. The only liberty taken by the transcriber is in arranging the lines parallel and even, whereas on the stone they run very irregularly as represented in Stirling's lithograph. Want of space also has made me crowd the letters in the lithograph too much, to the abridgement of the spaces which in the original most usefully mark the conclusion of each compound word."

In November 1837 Kittoe visited Naraj from Cuttack and wrote a letter dated Cuttack, Nov. '8, 1837 to the *Secretary, Coal Committee* with a "*Section of a Hill in Cuttack supposed to be likely to contain coal.*" Extracts from the letter are quoted below from the J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, pp. 152-154.

"I have the pleasure to forward a sketch (section) of a hill called "Newraj," where I had expected to find coal, but have been unsuccessful; the hill, however, presents such striking features, that I deem it worthy the notice of a geologist, and address you accordingly. I have forwarded specimens (a list* of which is hereto annexed) to the Secretary of the Asiatic Society, who will deliver them to you for examination, after which I request the favour of your informing me whether or not coal is likely to be found beneath the very black slate also, whether it is likely to occur beneath the brown slate, in samples of which (obtained fourteen feet below the surface at a village in a valley two miles inland south from Newraj) I found delicate veins of coal. Again, I should

*The list is not printed here.

feel greatly obliged by your giving me instructions as to the nature of the rocks beneath (or near to) which coal beds usually occur in this country? If there are any specimens available in the museum, I beg you will oblige me by forwarding some samples to me, labelled, and at the same time you will favour me with the names, etc. of the different specimens now forwarded, lettered as they are, my duplicates having the same labels. A reply to the above at your earliest convenience will much oblige your most obedient servant.
Cuttack, Nov. 8, 1837.

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"Newraj is about seven miles in a direct line (due west) from Cuttack; it is at this spot that the Mahanadi throwing off its branch called the Kutioree, finally quits the hilly country and the great valley hence to Burmool. The natives look on this curious rock as the work of "Siva" under the denomination of Siddheswar to whom a temple (of great antiquity) is dedicated, and situated at the top of the rock, the lower storey of it, as well as the enclosure or terraces are hewn out of the solid laterite rock, in which there are (besides) several caves, formerly inhabited by rishis (ascetics). The black rock is exported to Pooree for the purpose of making the "tillak," or frontal mark of the Hindus, the red, yellow, pink, & c. &c. are used to paint the houses in the vicinity."

In the proceedings of a meeting of the Asiatic Society for January 1838, held on the 7th February 1838, the following is recorded.

"Mr. M. Kittoe presented for the museum 6 arrows used by the Paiks in the *Kattak* hills: a kund arrow from Boad, a Sikh spear.

"Also a small stone with inscription from the fort of *Kat'ak*, and a facsimile of another from the same place." (Vide J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, p. 59)

Maulawi Shamsuddin Ahmad, M. A. of Indian Museum, Calcutta published the three line text and translation of the Persian inscription in *Epigraphia Indica Moslemica*, 1923, p. 32.

Maulawi S. Ahmad writes as follows :

"The fifth inscription, a fragmentary one consisting of three lines, likewise belongs to the period of Ahmad Shah the emperor of Delhi, and is interesting because it records the chronology of repairs and renovations introduced in the ancient fort of Barabati at Cuttack. The inscription is in raised letters on a small grey granite slab measuring 7" x 5-3". The tablet along with the facsimile of an inscription were secured from the fort of Barabati and presented by Mr. M. Kittoe to the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1838, whence the former alone has subsequently been transferred and exhibited in the Muslim gallery of the Archaeological Section, Indian Museum.

"The fort of Barabati was built by Mukunda Deva, the last independent Hindu King who had usurped the throne of Orissa in 1580 by killing successively the two last rulers of the Bhai dynasty. It was situated on the South bank of the Mahanadi, a few miles to the West of Cuttack town where the Mahanadi is ramified into its several branches. The excellent position and natural strength of the place, being surrounded by the waters of the Mahanadi on the North and

the Katjuri on the South, induced Mukunda Deva to erect the fort for defence against the inroads of the neighbouring powers. The citadel had nine courts, one inside the other, and the innermost two were reserved for the residence of the royal household. Abu'l Fazl dwelt at length on the description of this castle and recorded that it was a fine palace of the time : while William Burton, who visited it in 1633, was so much struck with the splendour and magnificence of the stately court that he termed it a 'labyrinth of buildings.'

"On the subjugation of Orissa by the Mughals in 1576, the fort passed into the hands of the conquerors, and Cuttack was made the capital of the Mughal Subedars. Several additions and alterations to the citadel were effected during this period. One of the important changes, forming the main subject of this paper, was the construction of the great arched gateway in the Eastern face of the fort in the fourth year of Ahmad Shah's reign i. e., in 1751. This incident was, however, recorded in a Persian inscription, a facsimile of which was later on procured from the fort and presented, along with this inscriptional tablet, also from the same fort, to the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta. No traces of the famous palace with nine courts of Raja Mukunda Deva are to be found now except the remains of a few sculptured stone pieces lying scattered within the walls of the once splendid citadel.

"The epigraph bears only the date 1165 H. (1751 A. D.), which was the fourth year of the reign of Ahmad Shah Bahadur, and also the date when the constructional changes in the fort had taken place.

"The above circumstances coupled with the fact that the date recorded in the present epigraph coincides exactly with the construction of the gateway in the Barabati fort, prove almost conclusively that this slab must have formed part of the historical inscription of which only a facsimile was procured by Mr. Kittoe."

Kittoe's second tour to Orissa from Calcutta was commenced in February 1838. His account entitled "Mr Kittoe's *Journal of his tour in the Province of Orissa.*" was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1839 from pages 679-685 and from page 1060-1063. The whole account is reproduced here under Part II.

Kittoe's third tour in Orissa was commenced from the 17th April 1838 entitled "*Account of a Journey from Calcutta via Cuttack and Pooree to Sambalpur, and from thence to Mednipur through the Forests of Orissa,*" which was published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1839. (pp. 367-383, 474-480, 606-620, 671-681. The extracts from this account is reproduced here under Part III.

Chief Editor.

KITTOE'S EXPLORATION IN ORISSA in 1836-1838.

PART I

A. Ruins and Pillars at Jajipur.

(VIDE I. A. S. B. VOL. VII, 1838, pp. 53-56).

Sunday the 27th Nov. (1836)—Halt today.

Having made previous arrangements for a visit to *Jajipur*, I started at 4 A. M. in company with about a hundred men of the corps proceeding to pay their devotions at the famous *tirath* or *Khetra* resting (as the Hindus assert) on the navel of the great *Gaya Asura*. At this place all good Hindus make offerings to their deceased relatives termed '*pinda pharaa*', a notice of the ceremonies attending which is to be found in STIRLING'S account of *Orissa*. I had no leisure to make many inquiries or to visit every object worthy of notice, yet I still saw a great deal which duly repaid me for my long ride of six miles there and six back again with a burning sun over my head.

The first place I visited was the mosque in the outskirts of the town, where there formerly stood the palace of the Subedars of the province MUHAMMAD TAKI KHAN, ABUNASAR KHAN and others. The mosque is rather a pretty object but of rough workmanship.

Over the centre archway is an inscription of five verses placed in five 'howduces' or compartments in the style of the reign in which the mosque was built, the verses run thus :

* * *

The English of which is nearly as follows :—

(1)

"May the Shadow of the insignia of the Emperor AURANGZEB
Be spread as long as the stars cast their light (shine).

(2)

"The praises and good qualities of the excellent Nawab
Are greater than in the power of the poets to describe.

(3)

"In the town of *Jajipur* he laid the foundations of a Mosque
Beneath the domes of which the nine heavens are hidden.

(4)

"Oh would you hear the angels recite the prayers
You must pass one night therein.

(5)

"As the mosque was made in the time of ABU MASSAR KHAN
So its date is 'the time of the Nawab ABU NASSAR KHAN.'"

The year of Hegira 1093 A. D. 1686.

By this inscription it would appear that the mosque was built in A. D. 1686 by the Nawab ABU NASSAR KHAN and not MUHAMMAD TAKI KHAN as stated by STIRLING.

At a short distance from the mosque is a dargah or shrine of a Mussulman saint who destroyed a famous temple and converted the terrace, on which it stood, into an open mosque and burial-place for himself and family. Beneath the terrace are three idols of enormous dimensions and exquisite sculpture, representing Indrani Varaha² and Kali³; the latter figure is the most worthy of notice though a more hideous object could not well be imagined, it resembles (as it were) a living skeleton of an old fury. Mr. STIRLING gives a good account of these fine specimens of ancient Hindu sculpture; it is much to be regretted that these idols have so suffered from the mason's chisel, in late years employed by an European officer to detach 'relics'. A part of the *mund-mala* of Kali and a hand of Indrani have been thus lost. It is also a great pity that these curiosities are not removed to the museum in Calcutta (which could easily be done in the rainy season) and thereby placed out of the reach of such would be antiquarian relic hunters.

"The following are the dimensions of the figures.

"KALI. base 6 feet 0½ inch, height 9 feet, thickness at the base 1 foot 4 inches.

"INDRANI, height 8 feet 10 inches; breadth at the base 5 feet 9 inches, thickness, 3 feet 1½ inches.

"VARAHA, height 9 feet 10 inches; breadth at the base 5 feet 11 inches; thickness ditto 3 feet 6½ inches.

"I regretted my inability (for want of time) to make drawings of the three figures.

"Having through the attention and exceeding politeness of the Munsif ABDUL AHID (who resides near the Mosque) procured guides to shew me all that is to be seen in and near *Jajipur*, I visited the different temples, none of which are worthy of notice or at all ancient, though they occupy the places of those destroyed by the Muhammadan conquerors. About a mile and a half from the mosque behind the town, I was shewn a very elegant pillar of which the accompanying in a sketch†; it is of black chlorite* and highly polished. I could obtain no information worthy of credit regarding it; it is called *Sivastambha* and is 35 feet high; the shaft is 19 feet 8 inches, the base 6 feet consequently the capital is 9-4. consisting of three separate blocks which have been shaken out of their original position; indeed I doubt their originality.

-
2. Vārāhī 3. Chāmunda 4. Śubhasthambha,
†. See plate 1. (App.)

*It is not of black chlorite e. g. Muguni stone. It is made of grey granite.



SUBHASTAMBHA from JAJPUR
From Kittos's sketch published in J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, 1838.
(See page 2 app.)

1845

1845

1845

1845

1845





GARUDA from JAJPUR.

From Kitter's sketch published in J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, 1838.

(See page 3 App.)

The column is a polygon of 16 sides slightly concave. It would be useless conjecturing the origin of this elegant column, or even the former locality of it; it certainly was not always in its present situation but has been fixed in some building, perhaps a terrace, now no longer in existence.

Want of time again prevented my visiting a curious place said to be on a hill 3 miles off, but God willing, I shall pay a special visit to *Jajpur* at some future period, where I shall devote a few days to hunting out and remarking upon all its now unknown curiosities.

I remarked a number of *Jaina* and *Buddhist* figures in different places scattered about.

I omitted to state that an assertion of the villagers that a *line* figure of *Garuda* was formerly at the top of the pillar and had flown away and alighted a mile off when *KALAPAHAR* came to commit his ravages at *Jajpur*; since which it had remained there and had a small temple erected over it. Curiosity led me to the spot. I was shewn within a small temple an elegantly executed figure of *Garuda* of black chlorite, a sketch of which I annex, it rests on a shaft (sunk at the ground) exactly similar in dimensions to the *Sivastambha* and may probably have belonged to it.

In the suburbs I remarked an ancient bridge similar to that over the *Kansa-bansa*³, but nearly buried in the earth, the accumulation of ages. A river called *Mudagiri*, used in former times to flow through it, but of which there is scarcely a visible sign left; the bridge is of itself very ancient and constructed of materials taken from buildings of more remote date still. Figure (1) is an elevation of one the arches⁴ which struck me as very peculiar; it will be observed that there is a regular key stone in lieu of the more common block architrave. Figure (2) shows the manner in which the stones project and are finished off on the startings, that is, on the face towards the stream.

The huts and houses in the town (which is very straggling) are remarkably neat and are all on stone terraces raised to the height of 4 and 5 feet, a very necessary precaution in a place subject to inundations as this is; the country is very low feet higher than the bed of the *Baitarani*. There are numerous tanks and swamps which together with the forest of coconut and other trees as well as bamboos must render it very unhealthy.

The brahmans are more troublesome here than in any place I have ever visited; they complained loudly of their loss since the high road through *Akua Padda*⁵ had been established, which deterred pilgrims from visiting their *Kheta*⁶. I must now take leave of *Jajpur* and conclude with stating that I returned to camp late in the evening much fatigued, having been in motion alternately on foot and horse back for the space of fourteen hours but I considered myself amply repaid for my trouble.

³ *Subhestambha*.

⁴ *Kansa bansa* river.

⁵ *Mandakini* locally pronounced as *Mandagini*.

⁶ Plate is not reproduced here.

⁷ *Akhuapada*.

* The highway to *Cuttack* lay through *Jajpur* before the present *Trank road*.

B. Ruins at Chalia, Tangi, Chaudwar and Cuttack*

(vide J. A. S. B., Vol. 1838, pp. 200-206)

Wednesday, 30th Nov., 1926—Camp—Chuttees.⁸ This morning's march, the distance was 14 miles, road good and no less than twenty-two bridges.

Our camp is on an open space near the Chuttees no shelter, the ground so hard that it was with difficulty four tents were pitched, there being a bed of laterite a few inches below the surface; the village stands on a granite rock, the laterite adheres to and mixes with the granite in a curious manner, the state of the rock incline at (about) an angle of 45° with the horizon (southward), the rock in such parts where the laterite (which is hard and vitrified having the appearance of brick kiln slag) rests, is in like manner red and vitrified.

The country to the left of the road is very flat and swampy, the isolated hills alluded to yesterday, have a very strange appearance; it has often struck me as a very remarkable, the abrupt manner in which all the hills met with from hence to Rajnahal and onwards to the Sewalik range rise from the surrounding plains, in the soil of which at a distance of a few yards only, not a pebble or fragment of rock is to be found even at very great depths; it would seem that the whole plains of *Hindustan* had been (previous to their present state) a vast ocean of liquid mud and quicksands which has gradually settled and dried on the receding of the waters that caused its existence.

About two miles from camp, we passed between two high hills rising abruptly as described; they are covered with dense jungle, there was indeed a great deal of jungle nearly the whole way, to the right of the road, but low land and rice fields to the left.

To the northwest of the village is a very large tank and a high mound around it, on which there are traces of there having been buildings in former years. The tank swarms with alligators and is overgrown with *solah* and *purene* (water-lily). The mounds are now covered with jungles and brambles. I remarked a figure of Buddha under a large banyan tree, it was all besmeared with *sendoor* (red lead) and worshipped by the villagers as the *thakoor* (Mahadeo); there were other pieces of sculpture scattered about in different directions.

Tuesday 1st December, 1836—Camp - Tanghee. Distance this morning 5½ miles, bridges 15, road good; our camp was pitched a furlong to the right of the road, on an open space near the village, beside, a tank; there is not sufficient shelter here for a whole regiment, though ample, for smaller detachments.

There are two remarkable mounds to the east of the village and left of the road, they go by the name of *Kenchuc Dhee*⁹ and (by some) *Aura-ka Dhee*¹⁰ or *Tangee* both of which words, imply a 'mound'; the natives say that many

*Kittoe surely passed through Dharmasala but he did not know that there were good many Matrika images there. Four of these Matrika images have been recently brought to Orissa State Museum.

8. Chhatia

9. Kichakadiha, - 10. Aura-diha.

centuries ago, in the time of Devatas, a demon (Asura) named KENCHUC constructed a fort here in which he used to reside: such mounds as these are very common in Upper India and are ascribed to like causes.

I should observe that *Keechuc* or *Kenchuk* of itself means a demon.

I saw several fragments of sculpture under the banyan and peepal trees round the village, also some mutilated figures of Buddh.

A large tree as well as a mound, always attracts my attention and I invariably ride up to every one I see, when I am able to do so as it is under such trees, that many curiosities are to be seen throughout India: for it is general custom when any sculptured stones, idols or else are found in digging or by other accident, they are placed under the sacred peepal or burr.

"There is a very fine view to be had of the surrounding country from the top of *Keechuc Dhee* (where there is a small bungalow); the country to the right (facing Cuttack) is woody with continuous ranges of high hills which have a grand appearance. To the left, are extensive plains with a good proportion of trees on them, as far as the eye can reach; the mango tops at *Cuttack* are clearly visible at about eight miles in a direct line due south.

"There is a market held occasionally at *Tanghee* where brass utensils, coarse cloth, and shoes are sold, chiefly brought from *Cuttack*; the village is a tolerable sized one, there is a police thana: it is the *Mogulbunder* and in the pergunnah *Kokakund*¹¹.

* * * * *

Cuttack Friday, the 2nd December, 1836—We commenced our march at 4 O'clock, and did not reach our camp (which was pitched under the east face of the fort on the river side) till ten o'clock, our hackeries did not arrive till very late, owing to the very long and heavy drag through the sand of the *Mahanuddee*,¹² a distance of two miles.

Owing to the river not being fordable at the regular ghat, we were obliged to go more than three miles to the left off the direct road on reaching Chaudwar and cross over at the ferry three miles below the fort, nearly opposite Chowleesgunge.

The road was very good as far as Chaudwar where we turned off and passed over the ruins of that ancient city, which extend for many miles. There are very few ruins above the ground, but the foundations of many are visible, particularly of the walls and moat which was faced with stone; there are numerous reservoirs also, and the remains of temples; the stone was removed in former years to build the fort of Cuttack and the revetment; it is chiefly mottled red iron clay called laterite by mineralogists and *mookura*¹³ by the natives; it is a curious substance and has the appearance of vitrified clay and other earths of various colours, red, black, yellow and brown, with fragments of every description of rock imbedded in it, in greater quantities nearest

11. Kakuakhauda. 12. Mahanadi. 13. Makada.

the hills; it has much the appearance of brick-kiln slag and seems to have been caused by sudden immersion into water while in its fused state, the beds of this mineral are usually near the surface of soil, and average in thickness from 10 inches to 10 and 12 feet and even more in some localities. I have observed frequently thin coats adhering to the rocks and bases of the hills, either rising form, or bordering on, the plains; in such localities it is much more vitrified and consequently harder than that which is found resting on marl: it also contains (as I have before said) a greater proportion of fragments of quartz, granite, sand-stone, etc. etc. But to return; Chaudwar, the southern face of this ancient city is, and ever has been washed by a branch of the Mahanuddee called Biroopa, the walls along the river face are in many parts still in existence, the present village of Chaudwar is close to them.

STIRLING makes but little mention of this curious place, he calls it Chauwar or city of four gates; it should be 'Chaudadwar or city of fourteen gates', if I may rely on the local authorities; history does not inform us when and why this once extensive city was abandoned, but there is a legend told by the Oorjahs, that the place was never finished, that while it was being built, and near completion, the Raja one day went out hawking and let his hawk at a small white heron; they flew across Mahanuddee, when both alighting on the opposite bank, the heron killed the hawk; the Raja upon this consulted his learned men and astronomers, who pronounced that it was a warning to abandon Chaudwar and to build his fort on this more auspicious spot: he accordingly built the present fort of Cuttaek upto it and called it Barahbattee¹³; he then forsook Chaudwar which was never after resorted to.

We remained at *Cuttaek* several days, the fort (Barahbattee) being the first object that attracted my notice. I shall first describe it, or rather, what is left of it; for it is fast disappearing, the stones being taken for various public works; the greatest drain has been for the light-house at False Point and for the macadamizing the cantonment roads.

The figure of the fort deviates little from a regular parallelogram having its longest faces to the north and south, the river running parallel with the former at a short distance from it.

The walls were originally defended by high square bastion towers, projecting at different distances, the place could never at any time have offered much resistance, as the walls were barely five feet thick and the three land faces, which a six lb. shot could have perforated, except on the river face, where they are not only of great height but of proportional thickness with numerous square bastion tower, the broad and deep moat faced with stone, was what the natives depended upon as their chief defence, before the invension and introduction of artillery; there is only one gateway and that in the centre of the eastern face; it is narrow and between two square towers, like others, wide at the base and decreasing towards their summit; the archway is of comparatively modern date, and is the work of the Mogul governors of the province; there was an inner gateway which has been lately taken down to build the light house with. This part of the structure, with several adjacent buildings, where the work of a Mahratta governor in the 4th year of the reign of MAHOMED SHAH, which I found thus recorded on a small stone neatly cut which was let into one of the walls.

(Persian text is omitted here)

In the year of the Higera one thousand, one hundred and sixty and five, coeval with the 4th year of the reign of AHMUD SHAH the victorious king¹⁴.

Over the archway was another inscription which is in the possession of the executive engineer.¹⁵ it was thus.

خراج اقلیم ها گیرد دوامی	ز حشمت او شرکت رگه بدو نامی
ربانیش معدن چون است رگامی	خوشا کنور که موهن سنگه بهادر
به پیش او چه رستم زال حساسی	چو شمشیر گیرد گه کار زار
بقعر خوش باره بانی تمامی	ز حکمش کاهه دار افغان امام
همین نکرد از چه صبح چه شامی	گه برج دروازه بالا قلعه
ز بهر حاکم عدویش دود اسی	قلعه آندی برز خندق بهمنان
مورخ عالی رضا در اهتمامی	جهان دیده داروغه سان کن گرا
که رگه فاقه دروازه قائم مدامی	رعائف بدرسد تاراض گنقا

It is certainly not a very elegant composition, indeed native judges pronounce it execrable and unintelligible, the following is as correct a translation as I can make.

From the splendour and state of one named RUKHBEER; may he ever possess the revenues of foreign countries. What an excellent prince was MOHUN SINGH BEHADUR*. His speech is a mine of desire and beneficence.

"When in the time of need he taken up his sword, what are RUSTUM, ZAL or SAMEE before him. By his order the Killadar IMAM AFGHAN (KHAN) occupied himself night and day with the care of putting fort Barahbattee wholly in excellent repair, with a gateway and tower to it mountain high. This fort first of iron, next a ditch filled with alligators, is at once a double trap for the destruction of its enemies.

"The experienced daroga ALLEE RUZA native of Kurra as chronologist, employing himself to find a date asked it of the hidden sound (voice) which replied, May the Rughnath gateway ever remain permanent."

I cannot discover who were the individuals whose praises are thus recorded, unless they were some of the officers of the Mahratta government; I can neither find the name of RUKHBEER nor of MOHUN SINGH, in STIRLING'S work.

"In the year 1174 A. H. which the last line gives by the rule of the *Objid*, the province of *Cuttack* was in the hands of the Mahrattas, under

14. This inscription is the same as that published in the *epigraphia molemica* noted above.
15. In 1949 I made a search of this slab containing the inscription but no trace of it was found in the office of the Executive Engineer, Cuttack, Ch. Ed.

*Perhaps Mohun Singh was the son of Rukhber: the passage is obscure to me as well as to Moonshies I have shown the verses to.

† Opposed to.

BABAJI NAIK. If the date, on the other hand refers to the Amlī year 1174, which answers to A.D. 1765, or there about, it was during the administration of BHOWANY PANDIT, the Mahratta governor of plundering notoriety who succeeded SHEQBHAT in 1171 Amlī (Vide Stirling's Orissa, As. Res.). The persons thus mentioned may have been the military governors, under either of these supreme rulers.

On our taking possession of the fort in 1803 the ditch was drained and the numerous alligators destroyed or allowed to escape into the river: there are but few to be seen at present and none of any size.

The walls and the other masonry are of laterite and sandstone, most of the towers are faced with the latter. The most striking object is the cavalier, which is I suppose the 'mountain' alluded to in the inscription, this has evidently had a subsequent facing of sandstone added to it and forms a part of the original 'gurrh or keep of the castle'.

There is an old mosque with no pretensions to elegance, the work of the Mogul occupants.

The candelabra mentioned by Mr. STIRLING has been removed to a garden in *Chowlegunge*, it is a *Chiragdan* about 15 feet high and of *Mogunee* or chlorite, being an octagonal pillar $1\frac{1}{2}$ feet at its base and about 10 inches at its summit on which is a vase the shape of a lotus, but intended to hold a 'tulsee' plant, it is not one shaft, but a number of layers about 10 inches deep, each having four brackets projecting out of four of the sides of the octagon, and every other layer having its brackets on different faces so as to allow of one blank every way between each bracket; it is of modern workmanship and belonged to a temple built by the Mahrattas which was pulled down many years ago, and was used for illuminations at the Dewallee festival; there is another very like it, before a temple, in the cantonment by the river side, also built by the Mahrattas.

× × ×

The town of *Cuttack* is very straggling, there are a number of very good houses of hewn stone and brick, but mostly in very indifferent repairs from the poverty of their inmates.

The principal building is the '*Kuddum Rusool*' in the suburbs, over the gateway of which is the following inscription.

[The Persian text is omitted].

"The building in which are placed the sacred relics, has no pretensions to elegance of design; the enclosure and the ground surrounding it is chiefly used as the common burial place for the Moslem inhabitants. The peer-zadae or priests, make a tolerable profit in sickly seasons as they charge from 1-4 to 2 and 3 rupees for each grave dug. The foregoing inscription alludes simply to the gateway and music gallery over the same; it appears to have been built in the year 175, when the province of *Cuttack* was in the hands of Mahrattas. I cannot ascertain who the individual DEEDAR ALLEE was, or what office he held at *Cuttack*, it is however immaterial, the building is not worthy of notice. The following is a translation of the verses.

"At the shrine of the Lord of both worlds, the asylum of human beings and of the Jins, the music gallery of the faith was constructed, in the reign of ALUMGEER SANI, (ALUMGEER the 2nd) If the offspring in the good in the faith of MUHAMMAD, know that his name is DEEDAR ALLEE at the shrine of the Prophet he erected this palace, may the Lord grant the wishes of his heart. When I asked the year of its date, the hidden angel (voice) replied with condescension. 'When the king broke the heads of infidels, read the year [in] of the music gallery of the faith,' [the year of Hegira 1169].

The Jumma Musjid in the principal street is also a very clumsy inelegant building: it is used as much as a school as for a place of prayer. There is now scarce any thing remaining of the palaces of the Lall-bag. The Hindu temples are all small and inelegant and none of any antiquity; there is however one temple of large dimensions which has never been finished, it was commenced by one of the Mahratta governors who did not live to complete it: it is about 70 feet high. The largest dwelling houses are those of the former amils and governors, they are all fast falling to the ground.

There appears to be very little trade carried on in Cuttack, the chief manufactures are brass cooking utensils, and shoes for which the place is famous.

The soil of Cuttack is sandy and very poor: rice is the only cultivation, the gardens are consequently very inferior.

C. Sketch of sculptured images on the temple of Grameswar near Ratapur:

(*Vide J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 660-662*).

"Thursday the 8th December we marched at $\frac{1}{2}$ past 4 A.M. and reached our ground a little before eight o'clock, having travelled over 9 miles of road, though the actual distance from the camp to camp at Ratapur must be but 6 miles: the distance measured in tolerably direct lines [as in yesterday's march*] was 8 m. of 1836. The road winds a great deal, partly to avoid nullahs and uneven ground, and most of all, cultivated lands and villages, we passed under mango topes for nearly the whole way, some entire plantations, others the remnants of what had formerly been such: most of them are choked with underwood and rank vegetation, the 'bent' or ratan plant is the most conspicuous, the country in this respect resembles the tarai of the Himalayas. It would appear from the numerous topes and mounds of earth strewed with pottery, hewn stones and bricks, which mounds rise above the surrounding low lands, that the country had been thickly inhabited in former years, as was likewise the tarai in Upper India. When and why, all these valleys have been forsaken, is a matter which it would be difficult to attribute a cause to, there are however less bricks and stones on the mounds or 'Taoghies' (as they are here called) than on those of Upper Provinces, from this I would infer that the huts of former times were just the same as those now constructed, namely, of a timber frame work to support what is known in Europe by the name of

*Kitton writes "we remained at Cuttack several days." He arrived at Cuttack on the 2nd December 1836. He left Cuttack on the 7th December 1836. It seems that Kitton paid a visit to Bhubaneswar on any day between the 3rd and 6th December, 1836 because he mentions temple of Anranga (Ananta) Vasudeb in his diary of the 8th December. As his Journal of the 7th December is not published, we are not sure, where he crossed the Mahanadi and came to a place in Athgarh.

'wattle and dab' which, from the swarms of white ants that [I may say] infest these regions, cannot be very durable; some however are more substantial, being built with mud and unhewn stones.

But to return to our route: for near a mile at the commencement of the march, the road winds through the narrow lanes of the villages mentioned yesterday, beyond the further most of which and on the banks of the river running 100 yards from the road, stand the ruins of a small and once highly elegant temple dedicated to MAHADEO by name *Grameswar*. It is of white sand-stone of a very fine grain, what remains of the sculpture is truly elegant, the figures and idols are very graceful: they are in the style of the temple of Anrunga Vasudeba* and others of the same era at the famous Bhubaneswar [Vide plate reproduced here]. It is said to have been built by raja PARSUTTEM DEO† who reigned from A. D. 1478 to 1503 A. D., and that it was destroyed by the apostate and spoiler, KALA PAHAR‡ who invaded Orissa from Gaur in A. D. 1609†. This person waged a war of destruction against all the temples that came in his way: the natives believe him to have been a 'rakshas' or demon, that he possessed a magic Kettle drum at the sound of which the noses and arms of all the idols dropped off, as well as the tops of temples, it was in vain I attempted to persuade the ignorant brahmins of the different temples I visited, that KALAPAHAR was but a man like themselves.

The superstition and timidity of the people of these provinces exceeds anything I have ever witnessed in any part of our presidency from Ludhiana downwards.

X

X

X

A quarter of a mile above the village ‡, is an island separated from the rocks on the main land by a broad and exceedingly deep-channel of the river flowing between. On this island (which well wooded) are the remains of a very ancient temple dedicated to MAHADEO by the name of 'Pachameswar' also 'Manji thakur', or the Steersman Lord. The style of the temple is that of those in the Carnatic (if I mistake not) and like a few of the more ancient temples of Bhubaneswar, it has evidently never been completed, the stones are laid without mortar and are fixed with iron clamps, which have aided in no small degree to destroy the edifice. It is much to be regretted that the Indian architects of olden times had recourse to such an indurable method of fastening their masonry, many of the most elegant buildings at Agra, Delhi and elsewhere have been destroyed by this ill judged practice, the iron after the lapse of a few years expands from corrosion and splits off large masses of the masonry.

The Taj has suffered greatly from this cause which was discovered even before the work was half finished; copper and brass fastenings were then substituted, these have saved the dome from injury; brass clamps have however been used in other public works of antiquity in India, for several have been found in the masonry of the fort of Cuttack during its demolition for the use of the False Point light-house.

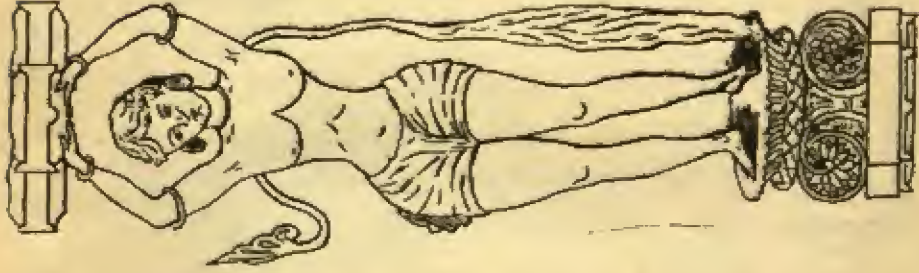
It appears that it was formerly the practice to build the temples with the material rough wrought, and to sculpture them after wards: this temple is one of the many instances of such a custom.

*Purushottama Deva.

†Anantavasudeva?

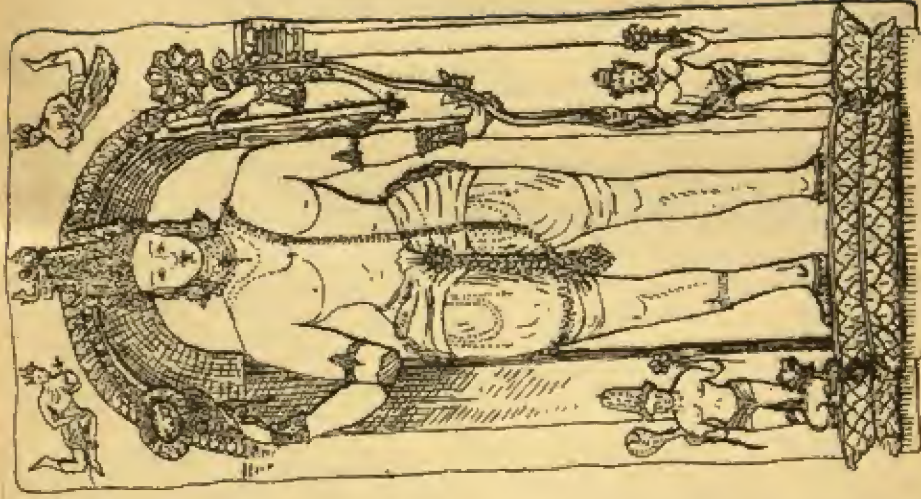
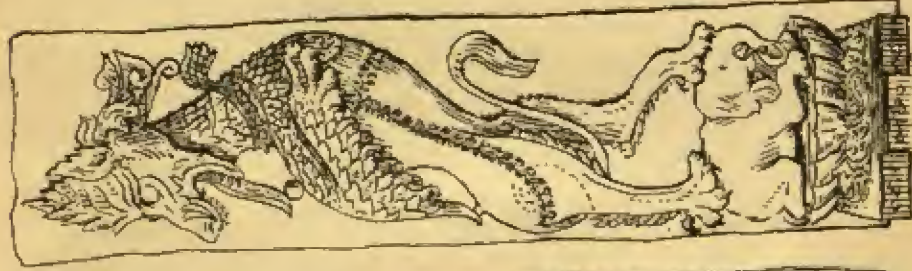
‡This date is wrong. Kalapahar invaded Orissa in 1565 A.D. Ed.

§ The village of Khandharpur.



Sculptures from the temple of Grameswara near Rautapur in Athgarh, Cuttack District
From Kittor's sketches, published in J. A. S. B., Vol. VII, 1838.





Sculptures from the temple of Grameswara near Rastrapur in Athgarh, Cuttack District
From Kitto's sketches, published in J. A. S. B. Vol. VII 1838.

Towards the top of the conical tower are several words cut on the unfinished surface of two of the compartments; the character is Gaur Sanskrit: the letters are clearly cut, and very large.^f

The temple has evidently been consecrated in former years to DEVI or Durga (see plate). There is a legend connected with this curious place which was told me by the attendant priest or *Sevaka*.

The story is as follows: Many years ago when the Hindu deities performed their miracles and deigned to appear unto a favored few, a rich merchant was coming from the western province in a large vessel (for in those days the Mahanadi flowed narrow and deep) laden with goods of great value. The vessel on approaching the rock was about to be dashed against it, but being drawn into a whirlpool was being equally threatened with destruction: the merchant who had an only offspring with him, invoked the goddess DEVI that if she would save their lives and property he would offer up his child as a sacrifice to her bounty. The boat remained fixed and unhurt, when the merchant lamenting, fulfilled his vow by throwing the child into the river; it sunk, but instantly DEVI in the form of a mermaid rose from the water with the child unhurt (standing on the palms of her hands) which she restored to his father, demanding an acknowledgement that he would build and endow a temple to Siva and present it with a golden bell. Then he accordingly did; however many years after a thief was tempted to swim to the sacred island and to steal the golden bell, which he was deprived of by the deity, who, as he was descending the rock, annihilated the sacrilegious mortal, and converted the bell into stone. I proceeded in a boat to see the spot where the credulous Oariyas fancy they can discern the bell and clapper; it is a hallow place in the rock, just above the watermark of the dry season, with a nodule of quartz (of which there is great quantity embedded in the course of sand stone projecting downwards from the upper surface of the cavity; this they call the clapper; the whole surface is besmeared with red lead and oil, and offerings are constantly made there, for which purpose it is necessary to go in a boat,

*D. Sketch of the temple of Durga at Badeswar**

(Vide J.A.S.B., Vol. VII, 1838, pp. 828-829.)

Before reaching the small town of Badeswar situated just beyond the Mnlakai (Modern name is Bekmari) nulls, there is at its deboucher an isolated hill with a modern temple to MAHADEVA on the foot of this hill, on the southern face under some large tamarind trees, is a very curious and ancient temple to DURGA; it is in the same style with that *Kundharpur* and likewise unfinished; the plinth is buried in the sand; it is very small, about 6 feet wide, 9 feet long and 14 feet high. The accompanying drawing [see plate] represents the elevation on the southside and will serve to illustrate this peculiar style, the large temples only differing in proportion, and in the increased number of compartments, but not in ornament; the idols are destroyed.

f. The reading in Nagree is thus Sri Vichitresvaradeva Sri Vichitrabhushana vide Journal A. S. No. 60 of December 1836. "The divine Lord of beautiful variety." "The variegated ornament."

* Baidyoswar in the Banki Sub-division of the Cuttak District.

The small town of *Badeswar* is certainly the nearest and most picturesque place I have seen; there is one long street which is very broad, having a row of small gardens up the centre of it with trellis work coverings, over which beans and other creeping esculents and flowering plants are trained, forming one continuous bower; at intervals there are fantastic vases made of pottery in which the *tulsi* plant is cherished; some of these are very tastefully constructed. There are also several wells with terraces round them; the houses are all elevated on plinths with narrow ledges projecting beyond the walls; the thatches also project considerably so as to admit of the rain falling clear of all, these ledges serve for the people to sit on in the fine weather. There is a mart here for grain, iron, cotton, cloths, silk dhotis, iron mongery, etc. which are both manufactured and brought from the neighbouring places, the unwrought iron comes from *Ungool*, there is a ferry here and a direct road to *Nyagarha* and *Berhampur* in the *Madras Presidency*.†

The hill of *Badeswar* is a quarter of a mile beyond the town, at the foot of it, and on the east side are several small temples of antiquity, but destroyed by modern innovations: there is also a fine stone well.

I observed several idols executed in a very superior style in chlorite; among them was a figure of BUDH erect, with the different Budhas in the sitting posture encircling him similar to that dug up at Sarnath by Lieutenant Cunningham; it was besmeared with sendoor and ghee, the same as the other idols. I endeavoured to persuade a brahman, that he was guilty of heresy in thus worshipping BUDH; he assured me that it was not BUDH, but MAHADEVA. So much for the knowledge of the people of Orissa, for I have remarked the same wherever I have been.

"We descended at this place into the bed of the river; then after rounding the hill and passing the mouth of a large nullah called the *Kalagiri*, we re-ascended the bank and entered another extensive plain which continued uninterrupted till half a mile beyond where our camp was pitched at *Puddumbutte**; it also extends for several miles south of the river.

The hill of *Badeswar* has a volcanic appearance and consists of a brick red mail and masses of gravel, breccia, and decomposed granite. It is about 300 feet high and rises abruptly from the river, on the opposite side of which (to it) is another rock forming an island‡ having an equally curious appearance; there is a temple on it also, for all such singular places are looked upon as the abodes of some 'thakoor' or form of the deity, and resorted to accordingly.

E. Kittoe at Gumsar:—

No account of the Journey of Lt. Kittoe and his party from *Baidyeswar* to *Gumsar* is published in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal. It is not known how long Lt. Kittoe stayed at *Gumsar*.

In the proceedings of the Asiatic Society for May 1837 the following is recorded from which it appears that Kittoe was present at *Gumsar*.

* *Berhampur* is now in Orissa.

† Modern *Padmavati* village.

‡ The island of *Simhanatha* where is a fine temple of the *Parasurameswar* style of *Bhubaneswar*.



Temple of Durga at Baidyeswar near Ramnath
From Kittoe's sketch published in J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, 1838.

"Lieutenant Kittoe also presented facsimiles of a copper grant in three plates dug up in Gumsar country, of which the Secretary with the aid of KAMAL-KANTA Pandit supplied a translation" (vide Vol. VI, 1837 p. 402). James Prinsep published the 'Inscription of a copper plate grant from Gumsar' at pp. 667-671 in the issue for August of Vol VI, 1837. In this connection Prinsep writes as follows :

"For this specimen interesting from the rude country whence it comes, I am indebted to the active enquiry of Lieutenant M. Kittoe whose regiment was lately marched to Cuttack, to aid in quelling the unfortunate disturbances in that district",

"Lieutenant Kittoe gives this further information of their discovery. 'The plates were found at Gumsar among other effects belonging to the late raj and came into the possession of the Commissioner (the late Mr. Stevenson, Madras, Civ. Ser.) who supposing them to be a document connected with the state, sent them to Pooree, hoping to get them deciphered. None of the Pooree pandits were able to make out the character. They were eventually sent to me when I took the facsimile now forwarded. The Bhanja rajas are branches of the Moharbhaji family who again claim descent from the royal house of Chitor. They are the Suryavansi tribe of the Rajputs. Gumsar and Daspalla were formerly held by the Boad raja, but the states were divided 12 or 13 generations back; since which they have remained separate. There are several traditions regarding the origin of the title Bhanj* which are too absurd to commit to paper. The grant recorded is evidently that of one of these hill chieftains. I have tried in vain to get a pedigree of Gumsar chiefs. I have one of my friend the Daspalla raja, who is a near relative of the Boad and Gumsar rajas".

F. Kittoe's Note on the Khandgiri Inscriptions addressed to the Secretary Asiatic Society, Calcutta.

(Vide J.A.S.B. Vol.VII, 1837, pp. 1075-1080)

"At your request I visited the caves of Khandgiri in March last, for the purpose of examining the inscription mentioned by Mr. STIRLING in his statistics of Orissa, of which a plate is given in the 15th volume, of the Researches.

I discovered at once the incorrectness of the facsimile, moreover that it was only of part of a very extensive inscription.

I found a great many smaller inscriptions in the different caves all of which I transcribed,

Having no means of erecting a scaffolding, added to the limited leave granted me, I was obliged to defer the agreeable task of copying the great inscription till a future opportunity, which unfortunate circumstances prevented till the latter end of November when having previously sent on people to make preparations I followed by dawn. After a whole day's hard work. I transcribed

* "Bhanja in Sanskrit signifies 'broken'. It may apply to the country which is mountainous and broken up by numerous ravines. The title of the goddess mentioned in the inscription somewhat support this."

the most part of the great inscription and re-compared all the minor ones; I worked for upwards of an hour by torch-light and returned to cantonments, having travelled 38 miles out and home again.

I prepared a copy of my work (on a large scale) in pale ink, and again returned to Khandgiri on the 18th of December; I compared this copy with the original, correcting all errors with ink of a darker shade, and completed such parts as had remained unfinished on the former trip. This I accomplished eight hours and returned the same day via Bobaneswar to Cuttack.

I had again occasion to observe the great advantage of performing such work towards sunrise, and more particularly about sunset. The degree of light at that time being most favourable, faint letters which in the glare of noonday are not perceptible become clearly so then: I would observe however that I always mark such letters with dotted lines, as are doubtful.

The nature of the stone at Khandgiri, Dhauli, and of the Bobaneswar temples is such as to render it quite impossible to take off facsimiles, as will be seen by the specimens of the different rocks.

The hillocks of Khandgiri and Udayagiri form part of a belt of sandstone rock, which, skirting the base of the granite hills of Orissa, extends from Autgur and Dekkunal (in a southerly direction) past Kurda and towards the Chilka lake, occasionally protruding through the beds of laterite.

Khandgiri is four miles northwest of Bobaneswar, and nineteen south-west of Cuttack.

The two rocks are separated by a narrow glen about 100 yards is width.

Khandgiri has but few caves on the summit. There is a Jain temple of modern construction, it having been built during the Maharatta rule. There are traces of former buildings, I am inclined therefore to think that the present temple occupies the site of a Chaitya.

There is a tank hewn out of the rock on the eastern face of the hill which is held sacred by the Hindus as well as the Jains. This probably may be the 'Sitala tagada' alluded to in the inscription.

Udayagiri is entirely perforated with small caves on its southern brow. The natives have a tradition that there were formerly 752, exclusive of those now called Lalhat Indra Keshari's naur. A great many still remain perfect, none are of any size, they are mostly small chambers about 6 feet by 4, and from 4 to 6 feet high, with verandahs in front and small doorways to them hewn out of the solid rock. Several are cut out of detached blocks in fantastic shapes, such as the snake cave, and tiger cave, &c. There is much rude sculpture in some of the caves representing battles, processions, the worship of the holy tree, &c.: there are many elephants represented in basso-relieve also detached of yore.

A great number of caves were destroyed for materials to build the Jain temple, and it appears that the rest have suffered during the wars

between the Brahmans and Buddhists in remote ages, since which the spot has been occupied by ascetics of the brahminical faith.

Stone has been quarried here to build the temples of Bobaneswar when probably many caves were destroyed, as well as the buildings of which so many vestiges are to be found in the Jangal around.*

It will ever be a matter of regret that I was unable from want of leisure to make drawings of the sculpture and plans of this extraordinary place.

Before I conclude this note I must remark on the ingenious method which had been adopted to drain the chambers, which from the porous nature of the stone would otherwise have dripped in wet weather: small grooves are cut along the ceilings all verging to one point at the lower corner, where a perforation is made to conduct the water without.

The great inscription is cut over the entrance of the largest cave called Hathi Gumpha, and occupies a space of 75 square feet.

The Secretary, Asiatic Society, wrote the following in connection with the facsimile of the Hathi Gumpha inscription.

Nothing short of an impression (and from the nature of the rock an impression was impossible) could surpass in fidelity Mr. KITTOE'S twice-compared facsimile, which is given on a reduced-scale in plate LVIII. The only liberty taken by the transcriber is in arranging the lines parallel and even, whereas on the stone they run very irregularly as represented in STIRLING'S lithograph. Want of space also has made me crowd the letters in the lithograph too much, to the abridgment of the spaces which in the original most usefully mark the conclusion of each compound words.

* I have got definite evidence to show that many caves were cut and destroyed for quarrying stones after the 11th Century A.D. Ch. Ed.

Part II.

Kittoe's Journal of his Tour in the Province of Orissa

(Vide J. A. S. B. Vol. VII, pp. 679—685 and 1060—1063)

Having been deputed by the Coal and Mineral Committee to explore the supposed coal fields of Orissa, reported by me in 1837, I left Calcutta by dawk on the 23rd of February 1838, with a determination to make the most of my time and Journey, also of the small pecuniary allowance made for the purpose, in antiquarian and other research beyond the mere exploring of the coal localities.

I reached Mednipur on the morning of the 24th; left again at 9 p. m. and arrived at Jaleswara (Anglice Jellasure), the following morning, the 25th; I carefully examined the bed of the Subanrika, but could not discover any trace of coal.

I was shewn an old musjid on the bank of the river close to the village; over its centre arch is an Arabic inscription in the Toghra character of which I took a facsimile; it is a quotation from the Koran and apparently the name of one of the Fathan emperors of Gaur; the musjid is very small and built in the rudest style with blocks of laterite taken from some demolished temple; there has been a small oblong area to it enclosed by a stone wall, having four small flanking towers at the corners and a gateway in the centre of the eastern face, the whole is now nearly demolished.

About four miles hence to the northward on the right (or south) bank of the river, are the remains of a very extensive fortification* the history of which is buried in oblivion; I had intended to have visited this place on my return, but was prevented by sickness.

I left Jaleswar at 10 p. m. and reached Baleswar (Anglice Balasore), the next morning (26th) at sunrise, having stopped for half an hour at the Burabalang river to search for fragments of coal. I was unsuccessful. In the night I left again on a trip to the Neilgiri† hills at Neilgarh, distant about 12 miles, which place I reached at daybreak. Neilgarh is the capital of the petty state of that name and is the residence of the rajas; it is an insignificant place with a few pukka buildings belonging to the raja, also some small temples.

I had been told that there were caves in this hill, but upon inquiry on my arrival I was assured that I had been misinformed, and that the only curiosities were two huge blocks of stone 2/3rds of the way up the hill which are

* Raibania durga or the fort at Raibania about which J. Beams wrote an account in the *Indian Antiquary* Vol. I 1871.

† Nilgiri.

enerated and known by the names of Domurra and Domurrani*. I accordingly climbed up the hill, and being much fatigued rested on the rock: I had a noble view of the sea and the surrounding country which in some measure repaid me for my trouble. My guide assured me with the gravest face possible that these two shapeless stones were deities in that disguise awaiting the time when the sea will rise above the low lands and wash the foot of the hills, when they (the Thakurs) will sit and enjoy themselves, fishing with a rod and line; there is no accounting for such an absurd tradition.

The rock of this lofty hill is a fine close-grained gray granite with large veins of quartz.

Having taken a cup of tea I retraced my steps to Baleswar [where I arrived at 3 p. m. I left the following evening for Jajipur, which place I reached at noon on the 1st. I had expected to meet a native friend of mine, Moonsif Abdulahed, with whom I intended to pass a couple of days exploring the antiquities of Jajipur, but to my regret he had left two days previous for a place twenty miles off. I made every possible inquiry, but was assured that there were no inscriptions of other objects worthy of notice beyond what I had seen in November 1836, already described in my journal, vide page 53 Journal As. Soc. No. 73 for January 1838; I examined the huge idols near the shrine: it would upon more mature consideration be an useless expense removing them, as they are much mutilated.

I went to the temple where the eight idols are placed, which are said to have been dug out of the bed of the river and drew five of them. There are very faithful representations of the whole (nine idols) in the Mackenzie collection of plates: also of the three colossal figures above mentioned. Towards the evening I was informed that there was a stone with writing and sculpture upon it situated in the centre of an extensive plain about six miles to the south-westward. I procured bearers and started at sunset, having made previous arrangements for proceeding on to Cuttack after examining the stone; I reached the spot after an infinite deal of trouble and annoyance, for I could not get a single villager to tell me where it was; all denied there being any at all, such is the provoking insolence and knavery of most Coreyahs. At 8 p. m. my bearers having got hold (by good luck) of the head-man of the village, he led me to the spot which was such as described; the stone is about three feet above the ground and of semicircular shape, having one face flat about one foot wide on which are the remains of a short inscription and a piece of rude sculpture (vide plate XXXVIII. fig. 1) x. I was assured that the stone was sunk very deep in the ground, in fact that it reached "patal" (the regions below). Having sketched the stone I proceeded on my journey to Cuttack, where I arrived at noon the following day.

I remained two days at Cuttack and then proceeded to Kanarak to see the famous temple known by the name of "the black pagoda." Owing to the bad bearers I had for the two last stages, I did not reach Kanarak till one o'clock the following day, instead of at sunrise as I had expected, added to which I had

* It is called Dumairana who according to tradition, sits there with angling rod to catch fish where water will rise to that height and his wife is also waiting there to dress the fish with a pauschi (weapon for cutting fish.)

x] Not reproduced here.

such a bad-headache when I arrived, from exposure to the sun and want of food, that I was quite unable to do any thing further than examine the noble ruin.

The temple has been originally very similar in general design to that of Jagannath at Pooree ; the great tower fell to the ground many centuries ago ; but one corner is still standing to the height of 80 or 100 feet and has (at a distance) the appearance of a crooked column. Such is the extent and minuteness of the sculpture on the pyramidal building (the anti-chamber) now remaining, that it would require a sheet of paper almost of the size of the original to give all the minutæ of sculpture. The largest figures (which are mostly highly obscene, are about four feet high : there is one row of them however round the dome (if it may be so termed) which are neatly executed and well worth removing to the museum : they represent musicians in dancing attitudes, playing on drums, trumpets, &c. &c. The whole edifice is of a reddish stone found in the neighbourhood, which appears to be a kind of mottled breccia with a great proportion of quartz and lithomarge. The only black stones in the building, are those with which the three doorways to the north, east and south are lined : they are huge slabs of chlorite richly carved.

The Kurda raja has demolished all three entrances and is removing the stones to Pooree: the masons pick out the figures and throw them down to take their chance of being broken to pieces, (which most of them are ;) such they leave on the spot, those that escape uninjured are taken away.

The elegant doorway called the *Navagriha*, a drawing of which is to be found in the 15th Vol. of the *Asiatic Researches*, has been completely destroyed.*

I remarked three or four niches in the different doorways in which slabs of chlorite with inscriptions had existed ; they were removed about 1815 or later by some European officer, but what has become of them I cannot ascertain : it is probable they were sent to Europe. It would be worth while to institute some inquiry after these valuable records of antiquity which might throw some light on the origin of this wonderful specimen of human ingenuity and labour, and would also add to the knowledge already obtained from such records regarding the early history of Kalinga.†

Before the northern doorway, are two colossal elephants nearly buried in the sand and ruins, with drivers seated on them and foot soldiers beside them ; the elephants are supposed to be covered with jewels and armour ; before the southern entrance are two horses and attendants to each, equally elegantly caparisoned ; before the eastern doorway, are two huge lions rampant with an elephant crouching beneath each ; one of these is still erect, of which I took a drawing ; see fig. 2, pl. XXXVIII.‡ The doorways are severally called after the animals which guard them ; viz. the *Sinha*, *Aswa*, and *Hasti darwaz*.

* As reported by Fergusson in 1837 the Navagraha slab was found by him in its position. (See O. H. K. J. Vol. I) Ch. Ed.

† Up till now no inscription relating to the temple of Konark has been published from any European sources.

‡ It is not reproduced here.

Having procured sixteen bearers I proceeded on to Pooree after dark and reached the bungalows on the beach at 3 A. M. I had my palkee placed by the sea side and enjoyed the breeze and the roaring of the surf.

I remained during the day (the 6th March), and walked for a mile or more on the beach at low water, picked up many shells but very few perfect. I could only obtain two coins at the shroffs, although I had anticipated better success, having been promised many.

I made every possible inquiry about antiquities and inscriptions, but could learn of none except those in the great temple of Jagannath and in the Gundichagarh: it would be desirable to get facsimiles of these taken by some intelligent Hindu.*

At four P. M. left for Kurda, at which place I arrived at sunrise: there are no ruins of any interest such as might have been expected, when it is considered that it was for many years the capital of Orissa; the rude walls of the old moor or palace are still standing, also some of the city gateways.

The laterite and breccia are the materials in common use for buildings of all kinds.

There is a fine spring of water issuing from the northern face of the great hill; near the summit, there is a small temple with an image of SIVA from the naval of which the water is made to run; a short way beyond this spot, over the top of the hill, and on the southern face, is a large cleft in the rock forming a kind of cavern, it is called "Pandeb Garha" or "Pancha Pandava," it has for centuries been the abode of ascetics who have at different ages scratched their names and short sentences on the "athans" or hewn seats within the cavern. I did not deem them worthy of being copied: they were mostly in Kutila character, Telingana, Canara, &c. &c.f

At two P. M. I proceeded (dawk) to Atteiri, distant eight miles to visit the hot spring, the temperature of which was 115° only, owing to the body of cold water surrounding it being penned in to form a tank for the purpose of irrigation; the spot where the spring rises is indicated by a number of small models of royal umbrellas made both of black and of white thread woven over twigs, placed there as offeridges in honor (the white) of SIVA and the black of VISHNU.

Close to the village of Atteiri is a small tank hewn out of the laterite rock in which I found a kind of fresh water sponge adhering to the stones, it was perfectly white and had a very delicate and beautiful appearance, I brought away a piece but in the course of a few hours, the insect dying, it became putrid and decomposed, so that I was obliged to throw it away.

* Some inscriptions of the Jagannath temple were first published by M. M. Chakravarti in J. A. S. B in 1903. In 1930 estampages of the inscriptions of the Jagannath temple were brought to Orissa State Museum. No inscription has yet been found in the Gundicha Mandir. Ch. Ed.

f Beglar visited the hill in the 1875-76 and has left an account in J. A. S. B Vol XIII.

I returned immediately to Kurda, (as it was past sunset) and reached that place at eight P. M. I left again at five A. M. for Khandgiri and owing to the insolence and perverseness of the bearers, who wanted to take me in spite of every remonstrance to Bhubaneswar, I did not get there till one P. M. I had only ten miles to travel, yet as late as eleven A. M. (six hours), they only took me eight miles, when they set me down and went away to cook their meals. I was then obliged to lock up my palkee, and taking my drawing materials and pittarabs on coolies, I walked the rest of the way in the heat of the sun: the bearers brought the palkee up a few hours afterwards. In the meantime having got some milk and a few plantains to refresh me, I set to work to draw all that was most worthy of notice; I commenced work at one P. M. and continued till long after dark, using a torch: I regret that I lost so much time owing to the conduct of the bearers, and that I could not remain another day. (Plates XXXIX. XL. XLI, and XLII.) †

At ten P. M. I started again for Bhubaneswar, and reached that place at two A. M. I arose at daybreak and set to work to copy an inscription in the temple of Kedareswar and tried to take off impressions several times, but not succeeding, I copied it accurately in pencil* I found that in spite of all my measures and efforts that the brahmans would not allow me to enter the great temple to copy the numerous inscriptions there; therefore I set to work to draw the sculpture of some of the elegant temples around me, but it coming on to rain hard I was obliged to give it up, not however, till, with the shelter of a chatta and a sheet, I completed a sketch of Ling Raj temple with the Bindaagur tank and buildings.

The rain still continuing, I left at four P. M. for Cuttack where I arrived at ten A. M. the following morning, after passing a very stormy and wet night and being thrown down in my palkee frequently; on my arrival I received a letter from my friend, the Secretary, informing me of his discovery of the name of ANTIOCHUS in the Girnar and Dhauli inscriptions, and requesting me to recompare my transcript and correct any errors. I instantly laid my dawd and left at six P. M. for Dhauli which curious place I reached before daybreak and had to wait till it was light; for the two bear cubs which escaped me there last year, when I killed the old bear, were now full grown and disputed the ground. At day break I climbed to the Aswastuma and cutting two large forked boughs of a tree near the spot, placed them against the rock: on these I stood to effect my object. I had taken the precaution to make a bearer hold the wood steady, but being intent on my interesting task I forgot my ticklish footing; the bearer had also fallen asleep and let go his hold, so that having overbalanced myself the wood slipped and I was pitched head foremost down the rock, but fortunately fell on my hands and received no injury beyond a few bruises and a severe shock: I took a little rest and completed the work.

† Plates are not reproduced here.

*We have unfortunately mislaid this inscription, or rather have placed it carefully by, where we cannot put our hands on it. When found, an account of it shall be given in our series of inscriptions which daily multiplies, and engrosses more and more time and attention. Ed."

The Kedareswar Temple inscription referred to above has been edited by Sri K. C. Panigrahi M.A. for the first time in O.H.R.J., Vol I No. 2 pp. 103-104 Ch. Ed.

I then climbed to the cavern and attempted to penetrate it, but the stench of the bats and the dung of those animals and cockroaches prevented my going more than 20 or 30 yards. I procured a few specimens of the curious kind of bats occurring here, then returned towards Cuttack, and arrived at six P. M. much satisfied at having been able to effect so desirable an object.

I took one day's rest and the second day at five P. M. left again on my march to Talcher¹ in search of coal. I had sent on my tent and servants to Kakhar² the first march; I passed the night there and marched to Govindpur in Dhenkanal³ before daybreak the next morning in company with my friend Mr. R. BEETSON of Cuttack: there was dense jangal the whole way; the soil is stiff red mark with much laterite; there are numerous small hills on either side of the path; the rock is a coarse sandstone, a continuation of that formation alluded to in my report on the volcanic rock of Neura⁴ in No. 71 for February 1835, of the Asiatic Journal. Shingle occurs occasionally: I am of opinion that coal could be found at some depth below the surface. There is a great deal of cultivation about Govindpur: there is a nulla the water of which is penned in after the rains for the purpose of irrigation. A short distance north of the village are the remains of a dam of masonry close to the extensive ruins of some former city called Toulagarh.⁵

The natives have a tradition that this is one of the forts of a race of people called Dehallia,⁶ who formerly had possession of these hill provinces.

On the 15th I marched to Deogaon⁶, a large village with several temples, tanks, and wells at the foot of the famous hill of Kapilass;⁷ in the evening we climbed this lofty hill by a narrow but even path winding round the southern face: the ascent is very steep and in many places steps are hewn out of the rock. I should think it must be about one and half miles to the glen near the summit where there is a beautiful spring of fresh water issuing from a part of the rock which, different from the other parts of the hill, is stratified. There are several small but ancient temples dedicated to MAHADEVA under the name of Kapilass Mahadeo; they were built by the Gajapati raja Pratap Rudra Deva. The brahmans relate that the raja having incurred the guilt of killing a bull, had a curse pronounced on him; he went to Pooree⁸ and asked of Jagannath what he should do to obtain forgiveness; the deity replied "Go to Mount Kapilass and there remain doing penance until your black raiments turn white." Having after a time obtained the favor of SIVA he built the temples and endowed them out of gratitude for his absolution, since which time the spot has become a place of constant worship, a large fair is held annually when pilgrims flock to it from all parts of Orissa.

It was quite dark before we reached the foot of the hill, we were met by several paika who had been sent to light us home to our tent, they had torches made of slips of SISSOO wood, tied into long narrow bundles which once lighted burn to the last morsel, emitting a very strong light with a powerful and delicious aromatic smell, they are in common use throughout the Girijat⁹ (hill states).

On the following morning (the 16th March¹), I proceeded to Atturva¹¹ large village on the banks of the Brahmines¹¹ river, the greater part of the way

1. Talcher, 2. Kakhar in Athgarh, 3. Dhenkanal, 4. Nara, 5. not identified

⁶Dehallia the people of Dahala, (Modern Bilaspur in Madya Pradesh.)

6. Deogaon in Dhankanal, 7. Kapilass, 8. Puri, 9. Garhjat 10. Tarva, 11. Brahmani.

was through very dense jungle, with some small patches of cultivation interspersed; I meet with only one village in which there were many large herds of buffaloes, and other cattle; cultivation is also extensive. I here observed a method of tilling the land quite novel to me; the fields are dug with long and heavy crowbars, each clod as it is turned up, is bruised with the bar, and thus prepared for the seed without using a plough; indeed the stiff nature of the soil, would not admit of its being ploughed in the dry seasons. This practice I found to prevail throughout the valley of the Brahmines, which tract is very fertile.

The distance travelled this morning must have been nearly fifteen miles. Nothing new presented itself at Atturva, where the bed of the river is about half a mile wide, the water at this season occupying but an eight of that space: being very shallow it is only navigable for small canoes.

17th March, Camp Nadurra.¹² This is a large village on the banks of the river about thirteen miles from the last camp; it may however be much less in a direct line: my guides purposely took me by a very difficult and circuitous route, inland from the river along the banks of which I ought to have travelled; such is the wiliness of the Ooreyahs,¹³ their object being to decoy me from the site of the rich lands which I should otherwise have seen; my companion Mr. B. came by the latter route, while I was completely at the mercy of my guides, having a palkee for my only conveyance. I however walked the greater part of the way, and passed several villages, all of which appeared to possess much cattle; the pasture land is very rich.

The chain of low and isolated hills to my left (south) came here nearer to the river; the ground undulated considerably, and in many places I met with extensive beds of shingle containing the debris of rocks, common in the more elevated mountain chains of Hingool¹⁴, Talcher and Rehrakhol, with which is mixed much jasper, laterite and iron stone conglomerate.

A great variety of small fish were brought, among which I observed some species quite new to me, of a couple of which I took drawings.

In the evening I was visited by an intelligent ascetic, from whom I learned much concerning the coal beds in Talcher and its vicinity, particularly one called Hingolai Thakoorace¹⁵; indeed I am entirely indebted to this individual for its discovery, no pains being spared to mislead and deter me from going beyond Talcher.

On the 18th I continued my march, and was again led by a roundabout path to a small hamlet on the river side called Kumlung,¹⁶ a short distance beyond the village of Mungulpur¹⁷; it is on the boundary line between Talcher and Denkanal¹⁸.

The bed of the river here is about a furlong and a half wide, the water flows under the opposite bank where there are granite rocks; it is still, and very deep; I found a great abundance of coal scattered over the sand, which removed the doubts I had hitherto entertained of its existence in this neighbourhood.

12. Nadhra 13. Oriyas. 14. Hindol. 15. Hingolai Thakoorai. 16. Kumlung.
17. Mungulpur. 18. Denkanal.

was informed that the navigation of the river from Talcher to as far as Kurzpara¹⁹ is considered dangerous for large boats, which are consequently not brought higher up than that place, where the first rocks occur; therefore should the coal fields ever be worked, it will be necessary to remove this rocks, which might be done without much labour or expense, there being few that I should consider really dangerous.

10th, Camp Talcher, Patna. Marched this morning at an early hour; the distance was about five miles over on undulating country with little jungle but much high grass. There were few villages and the cultivation very limited. The soil appears remarkably poor with much gravel mixed with it; the sandstone rock predominates; there are however some huge masses of granite protruding through the soil, having a very curious appearance.

I encamped on the banks of the river, about half a mile east of the town and Gurh²⁰; the latter is on a sandstone rock washed by the river, the former is contiguous to it on the south side, extending for half a mile or more. The Gurh is a stockade surrounded on three sides by a deep ditch; within is a long street reaching from the southern wicket to the chief entrance of the raja's residence, the principal buildings of which are masonry. All the smaller out-houses, had been burned to the ground, together with the granaries a few days previous to my arrival.

The raja with his sons paid me a visit in the afternoon. I was very agreeably surprised to find him a shrewd intelligent old man. He has travelled over the greatest part of India, having performed pilgrimages to Ramesseram²¹ near Ceylon, and to Budrinath in the Hymalayas. He promised every assistance towards furthering the discovery of coal fields. On his taking leave I presented him with a musical box with which he was much delighted.

In the evening I returned the raja's visit; he shewed me his Gurh which is in a very dilapidated state, as an excuse for which he said that there was no occasion for strongholds, while he lived under British protection. He dwelt much on his poverty. After taking leave of him, his sons accompanied me to a nullah about half a mile to the westward, and called Billaijooree²², in the banks of which at about 400 yards from the river, seams of coal are apparent; they appear to about on the sandstone rock, and are a very few feet below the undulating surface, which is alternately clay and shingle. The seams vary in quality and thickness, and are curved nearly parallel with the undulations of the superstrata. I attempted to sink a shaft, but was prevented by coming upon a hard rock of a bluish colour containing mica, coal and fossil plants. I blasted the rock, which proved twelve and a half feet thick, beneath it was a stiff grey clay containing coarse sand and mica.

The following day I again visited the coal beds, and lighted a large fire, to the amusement of the natives who had never seen stones ignited,

The next morning I proceeded to the village of Mungulprasad²³ about fifteen miles west of Talcher, under which is a dry torrent called the Sungurra²⁴, in the banks of which coal beds, averaging from five to fifteen feet, are exposed

19. Khadagprasad, 20. Garh, 21. Rameswaram, 22. Billajudi, 23. Margalprasad, 24. Singhade,

to view alternately on either side for one or two miles distances: there are several descriptions of coal, specimens of all of which I brought away with me.

From this spot I retraced my steps towards the plains, leaving Talcher several miles to my left, and passing through a part of the Ungool²⁵ territory: the third day, the 24th, I reached the village of Nagunna²⁶ on banks of the Brahminee, about two miles east of Nadurra. There is a very ancient temple here, dedicated to Nagnath: the name of the village is a corruption of this title. There is an inscription round the lingum placed within the temple which is very small. I was not permitted to see it, and was informed that the greater part of it was obliterated.

From Nagunna I proceeded the following morning to Chundeepee²⁷, a village surrounded with the richest cultivation, and close on the banks of the river, on the alluvial deposits of which there is extensive tobacco cultivation, it supplies the markets of Cuttack, Badruck, and Balasore.

My next march was to the large town of Kasseepee²⁸, likewise on the banks of the river: the cultivation is equally good. Many merchants reside here, their trade is in timber, cotton, tobacco, oil seed, and other products of the forests. I remained during the heat of the day at this place, and in the evening proceeded by dawk towards Calcutta. I arrived on the fourth day after having travelled on less than — miles from the 23rd of February to the 30th of March. I however feel amply repaid for the fatigue endured, first, from having been enabled to reinspect the Dhauli inscriptions, and, secondly, in having been so fortunate as to discover such extensive fields of coal, above which iron ore is equally plentiful. It is to be hoped that the day is not far-distant when these valuable minerals may be turned to good account.

25. Angul, 26. Nayda but the distance seem to be wrong it is about 12 miles and not 2 miles.
27. Chaudipal, 28. Kasipur in Dhankanal.

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(ii)

System of transliteration —

A. Sanskrit Notations.

अ=a आ,ɪ=ā इ,ɪ=i ई,ɪ=ī उ,ɪ=u ऊ,ɪ=ū
ऋ,ɪ=ṛ ए,ɪ=e ऐ,ɪ=ai औ,ɪ=au
(Anusvāra)=ṁ : (Visarga)=ḥ

Jihvāmūliya=X Avagraha='

क ख ग घ ङ = ka kha ga gha ṅa
च छ ज झ ञ = cha chha ja jha ṇa
ट ठ ड ढ ण = ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa
त थ द ध न = ta tha da dha na
प फ ब भ म = pa pha ba bha ma
य र ल व = ya ra la va
श ष स ह = śa śha sa ha
ल = la

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THE HISTORICAL AND LITERARY VALUE OF SAMARATARĀṅGA¹.

By G. S. Das.

Samaratarāṅga is a mine of historical information and a lustrous and priceless gem in the treasure-house of Oriya literature. Heroic poetry is almost a rare phenomenon in the annals of Oriya literature, the bulk of which is laved by the ebb and flow of an amorous and baroque spirit. Since the birth of Oriya language and literature, no poet has been charged with lofty patriotic sentiment and a sense of glory in the exaltation of the mother land, and it is the author of Samaratarāṅga who has upheld the prestige of Orissa by removing this want. Brajanātha Badajenā, the poet of Samaratarāṅga was a resident of the princely State of Dhenkanal (now merged in Orissa forming a part of the District of Dhenkanal) with an area of 1,463 sq. miles². Dhenkanalgarh, the capital of the then State was the scene of action of this poetical work and the cock-pit, as it were of the battle depicted in Samaratarāṅga.

The emerald green carpet of nature that lies to the west of Dhenkanalgarh and stretches from the foot of the hills of 'Kutunā' to the Talagarh Dhāṅkūṇā Sāhi is known 'Sāṅhie Bāti Bila' (the cultivated field with an area approximating 1200 acres). This is the arena when the cavalry of Mudhoji Vonsla of Nagpur under the command of his second son Chimmāji Bāpu (aged 17 years) encamped his army consisting of about 30,000 to 40,000 cavalry and a host of other camp followers in the month of May 1780, when Orissa was ruled by the Bhonslas of Nagpur under the Governorship of Rajaram Pandit, and fought a desperate battle

1. An Oriya poem composed by Brajanath Bada Jena in the 18th century and published by late Damodar Pattanaik.
2. Vide]Feudatory States of Orissa by L.E.B., Cobden-Ramsay, pub. 1910 Chap. VIII.

for 20 days against the Raja of Dhenkanal. Raja Trilochana Mahindra Bahadur, the mighty and powerful ruler of Dhenkanal reigned from 1764 to 1798 A. D. and his gallantry and valour³ struck terror into the hearts of the Mahratta and the neighbouring rulers. It is believed that the Gajapati Maharaja of Furi conferred upon him the hereditary 'Sanad' of Mahindra Bahadur⁴. It is said that during the rule of Raja Trilochana, his army consisted of about 10,000 Paiks (militia), 1800 Telugus and 500 Nāgās, and it seems the Telugus and the Nāgās constituted the standing army of the Dhenkanal ruler. It is further stated that the Raja had a fascination for wrestling and had recruited 13 foreign wrestlers of all India repute for training him and his soldiers in daily gymnastics⁵. Like the Prussian rulers who attempted to train the Prussian army by hard and regular drilling and disciplinary measures Raja Trilochana maintained the discipline of his army and kept them in fighting condition by regular wrestling, drilling and other martial pursuits.

It is no wonder, therefore, that with a small army of about 11000 strong, he proved himself a match to the enemy force under Chinnāji Bāpu, consisting of about 30,000 to 40,000 cavarly. The Mahratta conquest of Orissa by this time was a very recent episode because the Mahratta occupation of Orissa began in the year 1751 and Rajaram Pandit was the Subadar or Governor of Orissa when Chinnāji Bāpu came here. Stirling writing his History of Orissa in 1822 i.e. about half a century after Rajaram's rule, paid tribute to Rajaram in glowing terms⁶. As the Raja of Dhenkanal did not fully acknowledge the suzerainty of the Mahrattas and also as a sequel to the irregular payment of the annual tribute, Rajaram at the head of his army reached the village Motari near Dhenkanal, but he sustained a crushing defeat in the battle that was fought there as related in the canto II of Samarataranga. The soldiers of the Raja compelled Rajaram Pandit to surrender some of the valuable Mahratta weapons like matchlock guns and bayonets etc. which still adorn the armoury of the ex-ruler of Dhenkanal, as glorious souvenirs of trophies won in that memorable encounter. Rajaram, smarting under the humiliation of his defeat, despatched a message to Mudhoji, the Raja of Nagpur, who sent a powerful army under the command of his second son Chinnāji Bāpu to reassert the Mahratta authority and its glory.

3. *Ibid* p. 165. 4. *Ibid* p. 165.

5. Introduction to Samarataranga by D. Pattanaik. 6. Stirling's Orissa p. 93.

At this time, in the year 1779, just on the eve of the First Mahratta war, a formidable coalition of Indian rulers—consisting of the Peshwa of Poona, the Bhonsla of Nagpur, Hyder Ali of Mysore and the Nizam Ali Khan, the Subah of Hyderabad had been formed against the East India Company. Mudhoji, the Ruler of Nagpur, in his characteristic diplomatic style professed his desire for an alliance with the Peshwa against the English and simultaneously professed his friendship for Warren Hastings. He also secretly informed Warren Hastings about the formation of this anti-British alliance. The *Calendar of Persian Correspondence* and the *English Records*—preserved in the National Archives of the Government of India at New Delhi—bear ample testimony to the delicate, intricate and subtle nature of Mudhoji's diplomacy at this time.⁷ "While he professed friendship with the Peshwa and Nizam Ali, he could not refuse to join them in expelling the common enemy; yet to send an army to Bengal was unthinkable. He feigned compliance with the wishes of the confederacy, and assembled an army of 35,000 cavalry; but he deliberately exhausted as much time as he could in making his preparations. He then secretly instructed Chimnaji whom he appointed the commander of the expedition to proceed with 30,000 cavalry towards Sambalpur at a very leisurely pace". The plan of the anti-British confederation was that the four coalitionists, Mudhoji, the Peshwa, Hyder Ali and the Nizam had been assigned the duties of attacking the English in Bengal, Gujrat, Carnatic and the Northern Sarkar respectively. Mudhoji received the news of the terrible disaster sustained by Rajaram Pandit at the hands of the Dhenkanal ruler, almost exactly when the anti-British coalition was being formed. He clearly foresaw that the defeat at Dhenkanal had shattered the prestige and had exploded the myth of the invincibility of the Mahrattas. The defiance of the Mahratta authority by a petty ruler of Orissa was a terrible blow indeed to the prestige of the Bhonslas of Nagpur. Never before since the Mahratta occupation in Orissa, so defiant an attitude had been assumed by any Oriya ruler, and never before had such a crushing defeat been inflicted by an Oriya ruler on the Mahratta supremacy. It was natural that the news of the victory over the Mahratta by the Raja of Dhenkanal sent a thrill of hope and jubilation throughout the length and breadth of Orissa. The ruler of Nagpur therefore, was compelled to send a strong contingent of his army against the Ruler of Dhenkanal, although he camouflaged his real intention by writing

7. *Calendar of Persian Correspondence*, Vol V, letters Nos 1919, 1950, 1956, 1977, 1978, 1979, 1982, 1990, 1993, 1997, 2006, 2007, 2032, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072.

to the Peshwa that he had sent his army against the British in Bengal. "The plan of operations prescribed to them by the confederates was to march into Bihar, which they might have reached in two months ; but instead of following this plan, they took a different road and by studied delays had only reached Cuttack in the month of May following, being about the time when the periodical rains usually set in that province which, of course, served them as a pretext for deferring the prosecution of their professed design ; and they were at this time still laying at Cuttack."⁸ If Chinnāji's intention was really to attack Bengal, he should have marched his army through the shortest possible route from Nagpur to Calcutta via Chotanagpur and Azimabad. From Cuttack accompanied by Rajaram Pandit and Mañju Choudhuri, Chinnāji Bāpu started for Denkanal.⁹

Warren Hastings realised that the infant British Empire in India was faced with a most dangerous and formidable coalition, but he rose equal to the occasion. His secret agent at Cuttack who outwardly acting as Post Master of the British, was supplying him with all the available informations regarding the arrival and disposition of Chinnāji Bāpu at the head of about 30,000 to 40,000 cavalry. On receipt of this information, Warren Hastings despatched his trusted friend David Anderson to Cuttack with instructions to contact Chinnāji Bāpu and by diplomatic manoeuvre to win him away from the coalition, to desist from an attack against the English in Calcutta and to win him over to the British side.¹⁰

"The record of David Anderson's negotiation constitutes the first representative specimen of the State papers, written by the Governors-General, illustrating the diplomatic policy by which the States of India were brought under British supremacy;" and a brief account of what occurred will not be out of place. David Anderson arrived at Balasore on the 22nd of January 1781 A.D. to find that Chinnāji had marched most of his army into the hills to reduce the fort of Dhenkanal. He then proceeded to Cuttack, where he learned that the Raja of Sambalpur, on the Maratha's line of communication with Nagpur, was insubordinate towards them and that 'the distresses and importunities of Chinnaji's army were well known'. He first opened negotiations with Manoji Ram (Mudhoji's Pharnavis) and Hirderam, the Diwan of Cuttack, acting on behalf of Rajaram Pandit, the Subahdar.

8. British Relations with Nagpur State by C. U. Wills, 1926 p 69

9. Text of Samaratarangas.

10. Forrest's Selections from State Papers (1910), II pp 200-4. This "Mr. Anderson" was David Anderson, "one of Hastings' most trusted subordinates". He was the brother of Lt. James Anderson.

They expressed some apprehension of the Poona Government's resentment if Colonel Pearse's force were allowed to pass through Orissa, enlarged on the Nagpur Raja's steady attachement to the English and even pretended that his entanglement in Dhenkanal was a tactful move on Chimnaji's part so as to let the British troops pass more easily—'a proof of friendship which', as Anderson notes, 'had not occurred to them at our first interview'. But in the end they promised to assist the British force with provisions along its route, whereupon Anderson returned to Calcutta.¹¹ Warren Hastings's friend David Anderson arrived at Cuttack a few days after Chimnaji had started on his expedition against Dhankanal. His instructions were to impress the young commander Chimnaji that as he was the second son of his father the friendship of the British would be of invaluable assistance in securing the throne for him to the exclusion of the claims of his elder brother.

"Meanwhile Chimnaji had made his way back to the open country. He permitted Colonel Pearse's force to enter the Marāthā territories unmolested and, indeed, helped him in every way with supplies. Anderson, therefore, was again sent to Orissa to pursue negotiations further. In the instructions which Warren Hastings then issued to Anderson on the 28th of February 1781 A.D. the previous occurrences in connection with Chimnaji's expedition were recapitulated and the motives, which had so far induced the Nagpur Marathas to adopt a friendly attitude, were discussed. "The object", he says, "of this temporizing system is to obtain the acknowledgment of the claim of the "Government of Berar to the chauth of Bengal;"¹² and I have no doubt that this concession alone would instantly purchase their alliance and their decided and open declaration in our favour. I know that this is their object, although it has never yet been declared in form." Hastings, of course, had not the least intention of yielding on the point; but Anderson was directed to flirt with the topic without committing himself in any way, and to "endeavour to lead them to the information you may want by questions of explanation and by such observations or even misapprehensions as may be most likely to produce the discovery of their real sentiments and expectations". "In the meantime", Hastings continues, "it is possible that some advantage may be made to the particular

11. British Relations with Nagpur State p 73 para 46.

12. The old demand based on the treaty of 1761 A. D.

and personal views of the young Raja himself (Chimanji). As the immediate heir of his father he has pretensions to the succession of the sovereign authority of the Maratha State (i. e., the whole Maratha confederacy); and it seems to be the only provision which can be made for him to secure his future independency. Without this his father's death will leave him at the mercy of his brother and without a resource, for it is not likely that his brother should depend the wealth, or hazard the power, of his own State to promote his interest and raise him to a dignity superior to his own."¹³ Hastings was aware that even Chimmāji's officers "would take alarm at any suggestion of a separate interest of Chimmāji; and on this account you will cautiously avoid touching on any subject tending to it with them. But I recommend that you seek an opportunity to sound Chimmāji himself upon it..... Avail yourself of it to inspire him with hopes of the raj."¹⁴ Such a revival, in favour of the son, of a scheme already discredited by the father was, doubtless, a mere attempt to show dissensions in the Nagpur family. The intrigue, of course, came to nothing. Chimmāji was a mere boy of 17 and there was no approaching him except through his Ministers. Hastings then proceeded to suggest the arguments which might be used to induce the Nagpur State to abandon the confederacy. He urged that Haider Ali was the common enemy of the English and of the Marathas, that his success in the war would prove fatal to his associates and that already he had acquired a territory yielding a revenue of 80 lakhs of rupees from the Poona Government: "Mudhoji has frequently declared that he will not be the raj, which is his patrimony, to be ruined. Let him now stand forth to save it and assert his own right to the possession of it." "The terms Hastings offered were a payment of twelve lakhs of rupees, in addition to three lakhs already given secretly, in return for which Chimmāji was to promise solemnly either to return with his army to Nagpur or not to employ it against the British. Anderson was to make it clear that the payment was not the purchase-price of forbearance from the Marathas but merely compensation for the losses they had already sustained on the British account."

If this artifice to win over Chimmāji would fail then the British Agent was instructed to win over the subordinate commanders under Chimmāji Bāpu by offering them heavy bribes.

13. "Hastings seems to have thought that, since Raghoji had been adopted into Janoji's family, Chimmāji might as the next eldest son of Mudhoji, claim to inherit Mudhoji's supposed rights by adoption to the throne of Satara."

14. Forrest's Selections from State Papers (1910) II pp. 217-19.

“Anderson’s negotiations at the Maratha camp then commenced. After lengthy preliminaries the discussion centred, as was to be expected, round the cash payment to be made.” The offer of twelve lakhs was received with “much surprise.”; and two crores was mentioned as the cost of the expedition. The argument then passed to other matters, including the chaauth, but eventually veered round again to the question of a cash payment. “The article of the expenses served to engross the whole of their thoughts”, but no concession was made on either side. Discussion continued throughout the following day; and the Marathas were urged “to join us, when circumstances would admit, either in carrying on the war against Haidar Ali or in prosecuting the object, which I pointed out to them, of acquiring the raj of the Maratha State for the Bhonsle family.” The reply was that “supplies were necessary” and that “the sum tendered was scarcely a mouthful”. It was hinted that, if no sufficient payment was made, the troops might get out of hand and seek to obtain by the plunder of Bengal what they failed to secure from these negotiations. After further parleying, “Bisambhar Pandit says that the Raja’s expectations were about 50 lakhs. He has since talked of 30 or 25”. Anderson now, for the first time, mentioned that he could take it on himself to “make presents to the amount of about a lakh or $1\frac{1}{2}$ or thereabout” to the Raja’s Ministers. He was informed that “in such a negotiation such presents could have no place”; whereupon Anderson apologized but reminded Rajaram Pandit that it was he who had first suggested the idea the evening before, “when he had insinuated to me that, if my object was to obtain anything for myself, the house of Bhonsle could easily give it.” A personal interview with Hastings was then suggested; and Anderson acquiesced, as the further delay, and advance of the hot season would place Chimnāji’s army at a growing disadvantage. The Nagpur envoys accordingly met the Governor-General at Calcutta on the 26th of March 1781 A. D. Here the arguments were renewed, the envoys still pressing for a payment of 50 lakhs of rupees, which was gradually reduced to a demand for twelve lakhs and a loan of 25 lakhs. Finally on the 6th of May after conversations extending over a month, a preliminary agreement was reached on the following terms—the British to pay thirteen lakhs to Chimnaji and assist him in obtaining a further loan of ten lakhs in Bengal; the later’s army to quit Orissa at once; a body of 2000 effective Maratha horse to accompany Colonel Pearse’s force at the expense of the British; and the British to assist Nagpur in an expedition for establishing the Raja in possession of Garha-Mandla.¹⁵

15. British Relations with Nagpur State by C. U. Wills p 78, para 48. and Append D, p. 231.

"Hasting's comments are as follows upon the negotiations thus brought to a successful termination. "By acceding to Rajaram Pandit's propositions we have effectually detached one of the most powerful States from the general confederacy against us.....The mere fame of an alliance betwixt the English and the government of Berar will have a great effect. We shall no longer be considered as sinking under the united weight of every State in Hindostan; the scale of power evidently turned in our favour; and this is of more importance than could well be imagined in Europe, where the policy of nations is regulated by principles the very reverse of those which prevail in Asia. There, in contests betwixt nations, the weaker is held up by the support of its neighbours who know how much their own safety depends on the preservation of a proper balance. But in Asia the desire of partaking of the spoils of a falling nation and the dread of incurring the resentment of the stronger party are the immediate motives of policy; and every State wishes to associate itself with that power which has a decided superiority.....Nor need we apprehend that the supply (of money) which they have received will ever tempt them to return to these provinces. They best know the extreme distresses which they have suffered, the heavy expenses which they have incurred and the misery which they entailed by this expedition on their province of Orissa. And it is not to be supposed that they will ever again attempt to fit out an army of 30,000 horse, at an unavoidable expense of more than a crore of rupees, to march 1,000 miles through a hilly country in the expectation of acquiring a supply of twelve lakhs of rupees"¹⁶

This Englishman David Anderson tried his best to contact Chinnāji but according to his own admission in his unpublished letter written from Cuttack to Warren Hastings, he stated that the Dhenkanal ruler had guarded all the routes so carefully and so strongly that even after repeated attempts lasting over several days he had failed to send a message to Chinnāji¹⁷ and, therefore, the incidents of the battles recorded by the author

16. Forrests' Selection from the State papers (1910) II pp 257-8 and 261-2 Gran Duff (Vol II p 167) comments on these proceedings as follows :—

"Thus by an objectionable policy, justifiable only by the peculiarity of the circumstances, Mr Hastings temporarily detached the Eastern Marathas from the confederacy and turned them against both Haidar and the Peshwa at a moment when it is scarcely to be doubted that they might have pillaged Bengal and burnt the towns from Burdwan to Point Palmyras".

17. Unpublished record of the Govt. of India, Indian National Archives—(letter from David Anderson to Warren Hastings, 1781)

Brajanātha Bāḍajena do not seem to be mere poetic fabrication but a real fact.

The author was a high official of the Dhenkanal State and was rewarded by the ruler with the gift of a village named 'Nuāgāon' and a life-long pension etc. and that is why one might imagine after going through Samaratarāṅga that the poet, out of sheer gratitude to his patron, and to please him, had paid undeserved compliments to him in the poem Samaratarāṅga. But the photographic details of this encounter described in Samaratarāṅga produce the impression that the author was an eye witness of all the operations of the battles and it would be difficult to say that his description of the battle is an exaggerated account of the splendid defence put up by the Dhenkanal ruler. Only at the end of 20 days' battle, the Raja was forced to evacuate Dhenkanalgarh because of the earnest entreaties of all his counsellors as recorded in canto VI of Samaratarāṅga.

This incident was sought to be utilised by the Raja of Keonjhar named Balabhadra Bhañja to his advantage. He seems to have formed the impression that Dhenkānal had been crushed by the Mahrattas and here was a golden opportunity for him to fish in troubled waters and grab territory from Dhenkanal at the crisis. The author refers in Samaratarāṅga to a series of engagements between the rulers of Dhenkanal and Keonjhar who were neighbours and who had a common frontier. Sometime after the Mahratta battle at Dhenkanal according to the version of Samaratarāṅga, the veracity of which we may or may not accept the ruler of Keonjhar was defeated in two engagements as recorded in canto VI of Samaratarāṅga.

To retrace again the relations between Warren Hastings and Chimanāji Bāpu. Warren Hastings after a good deal of exchange of communiques at last succeeded in detaching the Bhonsla from the formidable coalition against the British. This defection of the Bhonsla is a fine tribute to the splendid diplomacy of Warren Hastings. Our admiration for him becomes greater when we learn from the English and Persian records of the period preserved in the National Archives of the Government of India in New Delhi that Warren Hastings added another laurel to his crown by paying large sums of money¹⁸ to partially compensate

18. 3 lakhs of rupees at the first instalment, 12 lakhs at the second and a loan of 25 lakhs. Vide British Relations with the Nagpur State by C. U. Willis p 73; para 48; and *ibid* Appendix D. p 231.

for the expenses incurred in organising Chimañji Bāpu's expedition from Nagpur to Cuttack. Warren Hastings succeeded in detaching the Bhonsla from the formidable British alliance and also secured the assistance of 2000 picked soldiers¹⁹ of Chimañji Bāpu to be employed by Col. T. D. Pearse who was marching against Hyder Ali through Orissa. At last a treaty was signed between the two powers, Rajaram Pandit on behalf of the Bhonsla and the English on the 6th May, 1781 A.D.

It may be mentioned in this connection that by his successful diplomacy Warren Hastings also succeed in detaching the Nizam from the anti-British alliance.

It appears from Samaratarāṅga that Raja Trilochana Mahindra Bahadur after 20 days of protracted battle near Dhenkanalgarh signed the peace treaty of Dhenkanal the terms of which were very lenient. By the terms of this treaty the Mahratta ruler was obliged to reduce the annual Peskis of Rs. 60,000/-by half the amount²⁰. The mild character of the treaty bears eloquent testimony to the valour of Raja Trilochan and the tact of the Bhonsla. The moat that was executed all round the Dhenkanalgarh during the war period as a measure of defence lies silted up. The gateway and the rampart of Dhenkanal fort were some years ago demolished by the P. W. D. of the State and the debris of the demolished structure was utilised in building the Inspection Bungalow and other public buildings near the 'Jāumliā Pokhari' in Dhenkanal town²¹.

The poet in the last canto of Samaratarāṅga which forms the epilogue of the poem has paid eloquent tributes to the stirring qualities of head and heart and the unique martial spirit, munificence and accomplishments of his patron the Raja of Dhenkanal. Further he has alluded to the life of his elder brothers. It appears that his elder brother Gopinātha Pattanāyaka was a religious-minded man and his second brother Jagannātha Pattanāyaka was a Kavibhushan or ornament of poets. Brajanātha Baḍajenā was the third brother. The poet belonged to Sistakaraṇa caste. The title Baḍajena or the Great Jena was conferred on him by Trilochan Mahindra Bahadur, the Dhenkanal ruler. Others say that this title was conferred on him by Maharaja Divyasimhadeva of Khurda. A few days after the

19. "Two thousand Sawars or horse, at Rs. 50,000 per month for each 1000, making altogether one lakh of rupees per month. Dated 8th Rabi-us-Sani, in the 22nd year of the Reign". Ibid p. 232.

20. Text of Samaratarāṅga.

21. Introduction to Samaratarāṅga by late D. Pattanaik.

cessation of the hostilities, the poet composed *Samaratarāṅga* and according to tradition had an interview with Chinnāji Bāpu at Cuttack, before whom he recited the poem. Chinnāji Bāpu was at the outset immensely impressed with the poetic genius displayed by the poet. However, while listening to the 20th stanza of the canto II where the Raja of Dhenkanal is imparting a fiery inspiration to his soldiers condemning and deploring Chinnāji Bāpu in such words "Let him hoist his fluttering banner, yet he is a babe in the arts of war and diplomacy and what can he do with all his arms and ammunitions, when courage is the mainspring of every action", Chinnāji Bāpu according to tradition threw the book in great annoyance and remarked "I may be a complete novice in the art of war. Yet are my commands also premature?"²². No word is adequate to express our admiration for the independent and brave spirit displayed by the poet in exposing the weakness of the enemy.

The reader can easily assess how very elegant, melodious and stirring is the language of *Samaratarāṅga* and how the sweet and virile diction begets the poetic response. Even the words are emphatic like the repeated firings of a gun. It will be rather rare to find out a man who would not be inspired by heroic emotion after going through the second, third and fourth cantos of *Samaratarāṅga*. We also sincerely feel that though *Samaratarāṅga* enshrines the picturesque description of the historic war at Dhenkanal, it should not be interpreted as glorifying some sort of narrow provincialism. *Samaratarāṅga* has also many other points of interest. From the last canto of *Samaratarāṅga*, we get an intimate pen-picture of Raja Trilochan. He was a highly gifted genius in the arts and crafts of war and peace. We also gather a short autobiograpoy of the poet who came in close contact with a large number of contemporary rulers in Orissa and was the author of a number of literary works composed in four languages, Sanskrit, Oriya, Hindi and Telugu. There are instances of Oriya poets composing their poetry in chaste and elegant style in the Bengali language since about the middle of the 16th century. We have for example, a number of Oriya Vaishnava poets composing poems on the philosophy of Neo-Vaishnavism. We have also instances of Oriya poets composing poems in Hindi and dialects of Hindi. Brajanātha Badajenā in fact uses Hindi in some verses in Canto III and his other poem called *Guṇḍichā Vije*.²³ Prahlād Dubey, the court poet of

22. Introduction to *Samaratarāṅga*.

23. Unpublished Mss., in the possession of the writer of this article.

Sarangagarh, which formerly formed a part of Sambalpur, but now forms a part of Madhya Pradesh, has also written "Glimpses of the History of Sambalpur" in a dialect of Hindi.²⁴ Although the poet Brajanātha Baḍajenā in the last canto says that he composed in three languages poems, padas, bolis and satire etc., although he was an adept in painting and drawing, unfortunately some only of his literary achievements have been discovered while others are buried in oblivion. Specimens of his paintings have not been discovered as yet. An attempt should be made by the Utkal University and the Government of Orissa to seek and survey the lost pages of history and literature left by Brajanātha Baḍajenā. Two works of the poet called 'Amvikāvilāsa' and 'Śyāmarasotsava' and a prose manuscript called 'Chaturavinoda' have been discovered and published in Orissa. The classical poem called 'Amvikāvilāsa' is the subject of controversy as to its authorship. Pandit Banambar Acharya ascribes it to the royal poet Pratap Balabhadra Bhañja of Keonjhar State. The editor of 'Śyāmarasotsava' ascribes it to Brajanātha Baḍajenā. The historico-poetic value of Samartaraṅga throws light into many a dark recess of Orissan history and adds value to Oriya literature. A poet of such eminence as he is, it is imperative that scholars should exert themselves to discover his unpublished manuscripts and to critically edit them for the ends of truth and the glory of Orissa.

24. Another unpublished Ms. is in the possession of the writer of this article.

SOME MINOR DYNASTIES OF ORISSA

By D. C. Sircar,

1. The Nandas of Jayapura

Rulers of a family called Nanda or Nandodbhava flourished in the Dhenkanal region of Orissa. They owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas, but began to rule semi-independently with the decline of the latter. The territories of the Nandas or Nandodbhavas are called *Airāvatta-maṇḍala* while the progenitor of the family is often described as having conquered all the Gondramas. The name of *Airāvatta-maṇḍala* has been traced by some scholars in modern Ratagarh within the Banki Police Station, while "all the Gondramas" (sometimes called the "eighteen" Gondramas) are sometimes taken to indicate the same thing as Oriya *Aṭhara-gaḍa-jāta*, roughly used to signify the princely. States recently merged in Orissa. The capital of the Nandas of Orissa was the city of Jayapura, founded apparently by Jayānanda, the first known member of the line. The city has been identified with a village of that name in the Dhenkanal District.

The Nanda rulers are described in their records as *Sitadhātumaya-godhā-Sikharikṛita-lohitalochana-āmbara-dhvaja*. It shows that their banner was a piece of cloth with the emblem of *lohita-lochana* having an alligator above, which was made of *sita-dhātu*. The expression *lohita-lochana* may indicate a species of snakes; but it is also possible to interpret it as "two eyes made of copper." The expression *sita-dhātu* usually means chalk; but it can be so interpreted as to suggest that the alligator on the banner of the Nanda chiefs was made of silver.

Whether the Nanda or Nandodbhava chiefs of Orissa claimed descent from the mighty Nandas of ancient Pāṭaliputra cannot be determined in the present state of our knowledge. There may have been a confusion between *nanda* and *znānanda*

which was the name ending of the rulers of this family, just as with the Bhaumas of Orissa, who had the name-ending *kara* and *ākara* and later styled their family as *Kara*. But this suggestion can hardly explain the name *Nandodbhava* also applied to the Nanda family. Unless it is believed that *Nandodbhava* was a name coined arbitrarily after *Śailodbhava*, it is probably to be suggested that the *Nandodbhavas* claimed descent from a certain person or family called *Nanda*. Considering the facts that the rule of the ancient *Nandas* in Orissa is actually suggested by the *Hatigumpha* inscription and that the claim of descent from the ancient *Nandas* is known from the inscriptions of the *Kadambas* of the *Kannada* area, it is not impossible that the *Nandodbhavas* of Orissa claimed descent from the *Nandas* of *Pāṭaliputra*. Whether however the claim was genuine or fabricated is of course a different matter. It is also difficult to determine what relations these rulers may have had with king *Nanda-Prabhañjanavarman* of the *Chicacole* grant.

The earliest known member of the Nanda or *Nandodbhava* family of Orissa is *Jayānanda* who was apparently the founder of *Jayapura*, the headquarters of the Nanda territories called *Airāvatta-maṇḍala*. *Jayananda* was followed on the Nanda throne by his son *Parānanda*, grandson *Śivānanda*, great-grandson *Devānanda I* and great-great-grandson *Vilāsatuṅga*. No record of any of these rulers has so far been discovered and they are only known from the inscriptions of their descendants. The *Baripada Museum*¹ and *Jurerpur*² plates of *Devānanda II* and the *Talmul* plate³ of *Dhruvānanda* describe the above five rulers in their introductory verses which are common to them and are followed by a prose passage introducing the reigning chief either *Devānanda II* or *Dhruvānanda*. It was therefore quite natural for scholars to suggest that both *Devānanda II* and *Dhruvānanda* enjoyed the *biruda* *Vilāsatuṅga* and were the sons of *Devānanda I*.⁴ But the recently discovered *Daspalla* plate of *Devānanda II* offers a different set of introductory verses, according to which that chief was the son of *Vilāsatuṅga*. As these verses are stated to have been composed by the *Sandhivigrahin* (minister for war and peace) of the Nanda ruler, they have to be regarded as more authentic and reliable than the introductory portion of the other records of the family which is full of numerous errors of various kinds. It seems that

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, pp. 74 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XXVII, pp. 325 ff.

3. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XV, pp. 87 ff.

4. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XXVI, p. 76, note 2.

the verses describing the reigning chiefs are omitted through confusion in the records of Devānanda II and Dhruvānanda in question.

Devānannda II, son of Vilāsatuṅga, is described as a devout worshipper of Śiva. The Daspalla plate was issued in the year 184 of the Bhauma-Kara era corresponding roughly to a date about A.D. 1015.* The five generations of his predecessors may thus be tentatively assigned to the tenth century A.D. The above record shows that Airāvatta-maṇḍala comprised the Jilonḍā *vishaya*, the headquarters of which must have been at modern Jilinda in the Daspalla Sub-division of the Puri District.

The exact relation which Dhruvānanda must have had with Devānanda II and Vilāsatuṅga is not clearly stated in his Tammul plate. He seems to have been the immediate successor of Devānanda II and to have utilised an old plate on which his predecessor's seal was fixed and the introductory stanzas were engraved already. Dhruvānanda who was a Buddhist was probably a son or a younger brother of Devānanda II who was a Śaiva.

The Talmul plate of Dhruvānanda bears a date in the Bhaumakar era. It should properly read 293 as the first of the three symbols used is a clear lū indicating 200. There is however evidence to show that in Oriss there was often a confusion between the signs of medial u and ū and lū (i.e., 200) was often written wrongly for lu indicating 100. The date in the Daspalla plate of Dhruvānanda's predecessor Devānanda II shows beyond doubt that the date of the Talmul plate is to be read as 193 and not 293. The date of the inscription thus roughly corresponds to a year about A.D. 1024.

2. Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka

The ancestors of the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka, somewhere in the Ganjam District, had their capital at Dhṛtipura in the Baud region of Upper Orissa. The earliest Bhañja chief of Vañjulvaka is Neṭṭabhanja I Kalyāṇakalasa who was the son of Raṇabhajña (about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century A.D.) of Dhṛtipura. These Bhañjas owed allegiance to the Bhauma-Karas of Jajpur and appear to have

* As I have elsewhere pointed out, the Bhauma-Kara era possibly started in A.D. 831.

been deprived of their possessions in Upper Orissa by the Somavamśi king Mahāśivagupta I Yayāti (circa A.D. 970-1000). Even after the loss of the Dhṛtipura region, the territories of these Bhaṇjas probably continued to be called Kṛiṇjali-maṇḍala. The emblem of the Bhaṇjas of Dhṛtipura and Vaṇjūlvaka was the lion.

Neṭṭabhaṇja I Kalyāṇakalasa is described in his records as a Rājan and a devotee of Śiva. One of his charters seems to be dated in his fifth regnal year. He was probably succeeded by his brother's son Śilābhaṇja II (son of Digbhaṇja or Disābhaṇaj). A recently discovered charter of Śilābhaṇja II surnamed Tribhuvanakalasa is dated in his first regnal year. This king was also a devotee of maheśvara or Śiva. His successor was his son Vidyādharabhaṇja Amoghakalasa, another devout worshipper of the god Śiva. Vidyādharabhaṇja's son and successor Neṭṭabhaṇja II Kalyāṇakalasa was however a worshipper of Viṣṇu. Vaiṣṇavism was thus reintroduced as the family religion by Neṭṭabhaṇja II.

The exact durations of the reigns of these rulers cannot be determined. There is however some evidence to show that the four generations of kings from Neṭṭabhaṇja I to Neṭṭabhaṇja II did not rule for considerably more than half a century. This is indicated by the fact that a Brāhmaṇa officer named Bhaṭṭa Stambhadeva served successively Neṭṭabhaṇja I, his brother's son and successor, Śilābhaṇja II and the latter's son Vidyādharabhaṇja, while a goldsmith named Durgadeva not only served all the above three rulers but also Neṭṭabhaṇja II. Considering the fact that the active period of the lives of Stambhadeva and Durgadeva probably covered about half a century and that Raṇabhaṇja, father of Neṭṭabhaṇja, flourished about the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, the reign of Neṭṭabhaṇja II Kalyāṇakalasa may be roughly assigned to the first quarter of the eleventh century.

The recently discovered Daspalla plates were issued by a Bhaṇja king of Vaṇjūlvaka, whose name is given as Śatrubhaṇja II *alias* Tribhuvanakalasa. He is stated to have been the son of Śilābhaṇja and great-grandson of Vidyādharabhaṇja. As it stands, the description of the ancestry of the issuer of the grant is defective in as much as it does not speak of his grandfather. Under the circumstances, we have to suggest either that the word *prapautra* is a mistake for *pautra* so that Vidyādharabhaṇja was really the grandfather of Śatrubhaṇja Tribhuvanakalasa or that the name of the

grandfather of Śatrubhaṇja was omitted from the record owing to the inadvertence of the scribe or the engraver. It is unfortunately difficult to be definite on these points in the present state of our knowledge. Śatrubhaṇja's father Śilābhaṇja does not appear to have ruled.

The grant of Śatrubhaṇja II Tribhuvanakaśasa is dated in the year 198 of apparently the Bhauma-Kara era. The date may be regarded as roughly corresponding to a year about A. D. 1029. The astronomical details of the date of the charter are: Year 198, Vishuva-saṅkrānti, Pañchami, Sunday, Mṛgasiro-nakshatra. According to Swamikannu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris*, these may suggest the 23rd March, A. D. 1029.

A later member of the Bhaṇja house of Vaṇjulvaka was Rāpaka Neṭṭabhaṇja III Tribhuvanakaśasa. A charter of his thirteenth regnal year has recently come to light. He was the son of Rāyabhaṇja and grandson of Pṛthvībhaṇja. It is not known whether Rāyabhaṇja and Pṛthvībhaṇja were actually rulers; but probably they were not. The relation of king Neṭṭabhaṇja III with the other known rulers of Vaṇjulvaka is unknown. He may be tentatively regarded as a successor of Śatrubhaṇja II.

Another member of the same house was Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja who issued the charter called the Tekkali plates by R. D. Banerji¹ and the Jangalpadu plates by S. N. Rajaguru.² The transcripts of this record published by Banerji and Rajaguru are both full of errors. The date of the grant is read by Banerji as the year 800 which he refers to the Vikrama Samvat to correspond to A. D. 742, while Rajaguru reads it as the year 1012 which he refers to the Śaka era to correspond to A. D. 1090. In reality however the record is dated in the fourteenth year of the king's reign. R. C. Majumdar assigned the inscription on palaeographical grounds to the eighth century A. D.³ But this is clearly wrong as its issuer must be assigned to the eleventh century A. D. That the issuer of the charter belonged to the Bhaṇja house of Vaṇjulvaka is clear from the introductory part of it in spite of the fact that the name of the city finds no mention there. The common characteristic of all grants issued from Vaṇjulvaka is that they begin with three

1. *J. B. O. R. S.*, Vol. XVIII, 1932, pp. 387 ff.

2. *Utkala Sahitya*, 1930; *J. K. H. R. S.*, Vol. I, pp. 181 ff.

3. "Outlines of the History of the Bhaṇja Kings of Orissa" (reprinted from the *Dacca University Studies*), p. 3.

verses, the first of which commences with Jayati kusumabāṇa, etc., and the third introduces the reigning chief under a secondary name ending in the word *kalasa*. All the three verses are found in the introductory part of the grant of Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja although his secondary name is given as Maṅgalarāja and not Maṅgalakalasa. The numerical symbols used in the inscription instead of figures of the decimal system may suggest that Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja flourished earlier than his name sake whom we have called Śatrubhaṇja II. But this is not absolutely certain. Moreover the facts that the name of Vaṇjulvaka is absent from his grant and that his secondary name does not end in the word *kalasa* may suggest that he belonged to a collateral line of the Bhaṇja family and was ruling contemporaneously with the rulers of Vaṇjulvaka. It should however be pointed out that he is known to have ruled over the *Salvaḍḍa vishaya* which may be the same as the *Śalvaḍḍa vishaya* mentioned in the grant of Śilābhaṇja II Tribhuvanakalasa referred to above.

Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja was the son of Śilābhaṇja, grand son of Mallagambhīra (wrongly read by Banerji as Pallagambhīra) and great-grandson of Yathāsukha (wrongly read by Rajaguru as Pathāsukha). It is not known and is really doubtful if these ancestors of Śatrubhaṇja Maṅgalarāja actually reigned.

The semi-independent rule of these Bhaṇjas seems to have ended with the conquest of the Bhauma-Kara dominions in Lower Orissa by the Somavaṃśīs about the second quarter of the eleventh century.

3. The Bhaṇjas of Kumārapura and Kolāḍa

A Bhaṇja king who is known to have granted a village in Khinjalī-maṇḍala and ruled in the Ganjam area was Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Nettarebhaṇja, described as the son of Raṇabhaṇja and grandson of another Nettarebhaṇja. Yuvarāja Rāyabhaṇja, mentioned in the record, may have been a son of its issuer. As in similar other cases, we do not know whether the father and grandfather of the ruler reigned as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. The charter in question, which was issued from Kumārapura, is remarkably different in style from the records of the Bhaṇja house of Vaṇjulvaka. The emblem on the seal attached to it is also not the lion but a *kalasa* or jar which is taken by some scholars to be an amṛta-ghata but by others to be a pūrṇa-kumbha. Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Nettarebhaṇja

appears to have represented a different branch of the Bhañja family like the so called later Bhañjas of Khiñjali, whose charters were issued from Kolāḍa-kataka. He was possibly ruling from Kumārapura contemporaneously with the Bhañjas of Vañjulvaka.

Only two inscriptions of the Bhañjas of the Khiñjali country ruling from Kolāḍa have so far been discovered, both coming from Antirigam in the Ganjam District. Their capital Kolāḍa-kataka seems to be no other than the modern Kulāḍa near Russelkonda. Kulāḍa was the headquarters of a family of Bhañja rulers as late as the British period. The celebrated Oriya poet Upendra Bhañja belonged to this branch of the family. It is possible to think that Upendra Bhañja was a direct descendant of the Bhañjas of Khiñjali ruling from the city of Kolāḍa.

The Antirigam plates¹ of Yaśobhañja, described as the lord of the whole of the Khiñjali country, are dated in the third year of his reign. Yaśobhañja is said to have been the son of Rāyabhañja II, grandson of Virabhañja I, great-grandson of Rāyabhañja I and great-great-grandson of Rājādhirāja Devabhañja. The ruler is credited with a victory over a king named Jagadekamalla. Another set of plates² discovered at the same village was issued from Kolāḍa-kataka by Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Jayabhañja in his third regnal year on the occasion of a lunar eclipse in the month of Jyeshṭha. The record mentions Yuvarāja Virabhañja II who was possibly the son of the issuer.

D. R. Bhandarkar says that Yaśobhañja "was a contemporary of Jagadekamalla II (the Later Chālukya king of Kalyāṇa) and therefore lived about A. D. 1139-1149. The first lunar eclipse in Jyeshṭha after this date came off on Friday, 22nd May 1184. Jayabhañja therefore came to the throne in A. D. 1161."³ Unfortunately in this case, as in several others in his *List of Inscriptions of Northern India*, Bhandarkar has confused the full moon with the new moon. As lunar eclipse occurred in several years on Jyeshṭha-sudi 15 during the reign of Chālukya Perma Jagadekamalla II of Kalyāṇa (A. D. 1138-51) and in the years following that period, it is impossible to determine the year of Jayabhañja's coronation on this basis. Considering however the ascription of Raṇabhañja of Dhṛtipura to the middle or the third quarter of the tenth century, and the number of succeeding

1. *Ep. Ind.*, Vol. XVIII, pp. 293 ff.

2. *Ibid.*, Vol. XIX, pp. 43 ff.

3. *List*, p. 286, note 6.

rulers belonging to his own family and the branch lines represented by Nettabhāṇja of Kumārapura and Yośobhanja and Jayabhāṇja of Kolāḍa, the rule of the issuers of the Antirigam plates about the middle of the twelfth century appears quite probable. But these petty rulers of the Ganjam region probably owed allegiance to the early imperial Gaṅgas of Kalinganagara, who were themselves subordinate allies of the great Cholas, and the battle against the Western Chālukya monarch may have been fought by them in the train of the Gaṅga king and on behalf of the Chola emperor. Thus the identification of Yaśobhāṇja's contemporary Jagadekamalla with the Chālukya king Jayasīṃha Jagadekamalla I (circa A. D. 1015-42) who is celebrated in history for his conflict with the mighty Chola monarch Rājendra I (A. D. 1016-42) does not appear to be improbable.

In that case however we have to assume that many of the rulers of Vaṇjūlvaka, Kumārapura and Kolāḍa ruled contemporaneously, although the question cannot be finally settled until further evidence comes to light. In the present state of our knowledge, it is indeed difficult to believe that such petty rulers were allowed to issue charters under their own names after Anantavarman Chodagaṅga (A. D. 1078-1147) had already established his power in the whole coast land between the Godāvari and the Bhāgirathī. The possibility becomes more dubious when we notice that Chodagaṅga had his capital at Kalinganagara near Chicacole (Srikakulam) while the Bhāṇjas of Kolāḍa ruled in the neighbouring areas of Ganjam.

4. The Bhāṇjas of Baud

A copper-plate inscription¹ of a Bhāṇja ruler named Kanakabhāṇja was discovered in the Baud region. This ruler is described as the son of Durjayabhāṇja and grandson of Solanabhāṇja. It is stated that the Bhāṇja family, to which Kanakabhāṇja belonged, was sprung from the sage Kāśyapa. It is further said that many members of this family claimed to have been the lords of Gauḍa. The significance of the claim can hardly be determined in the present state of our knowledge. Kanakabhāṇja probably ruled about the close of the eleventh century when the power of the Somavamśis was on the decline.



(a) The image of Kumārasena
See pp. 21—22



(b) Lokanātha
See pp. 41—42

ORIYA INSCRIPTION ON A STONE IMAGE

By Sri Satyanarayan Rajaguru,

with plates 7 and 8.

I visited Gandibedha, a village situated in the district of Balasore (Orissa) in the month of January 1953 and collected some valuable historical remnants from there. The inscribed image which I am now going to edit is one of my collections.

The measurement of this stone image is 7 inches \times 1½ inches. The image is broken from its neck although no part of it is missing. It is a sitting image of a devotee in the pose of 'Padmāsana' with two palms joined together at the centre of the chest (Vaddhāñjali) which is not found in the usual 'Mudrās' of deities.

There are two lines of writing incised at the lower part of the image which have been deciphered as follows :—

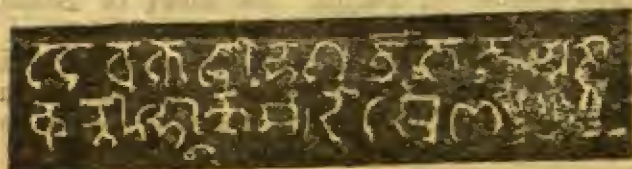
Line 1 :—देव कही भक्ति करुण* प्र—

Line 2 :—छन्ती (सि) भो कुमार देव

The scripts used in it belong to the northern type of alphabets of the 10th-11th. centuries A.D. The language is Oriya. It is the earliest Oriya inscription so far known to us. It appears that the text is composed in poetry ending with the letter 'NA' of the words 'karuna' and 'seṇa'. In poetical form the text may be arranged as follows :—

देवकहि भक्ति करुण ।

छन्ति भो कुमार देव ॥



*There are 3 letters of 'Ka' out of which this is in the proto-Oriya form.

Apart from the metre the word 'KARUṆA' which is generally found in poetry, has been used in it. The first line of the text, if it happens to be one of the lines of poetry, contains ten letters whereas the second line contains only nine. This kind of variation in metres or chhandas is not uncommon in the classical Oriya poetry. The word 'BHAGATI' is a purely Oriya expression for the Sanskrit 'Bhakti'.

Purport of the text

"Oh Kumāra Sena ! you are being revered as the personification of the deity or deva.

From the name of Kumāra Sena it appears that he belongs to a sect of people who used the title of 'Sena', which was in vogue in many parts of India. It is used in Bengal by some tribes. In the Deccan some Jaina Gurus (teachers) have used the same title. In one of the inscriptions of Srāvana-Belgola of A. D. 1129 we come across the name of a Jaina teacher known as Malli Sena. He is said to have been starved himself to death at the Dhavalasarasa Tīrtha in A. D. 1129. (Vide E.I., Vol. III, pp. 184). In Orissa there are some Senas who are popularly known as 'Rasa-Vaidyas' or the pharmaceutical physicians.

The Kumāra Sena of our inscription seems to have been a Jaina Guru of the 10th. or 11th. century A.D. In this connection I like to point out that in the 'Kalyāṇa-Kārikā' of Ugrāditya there is the mention of one Kumāra Sena as a Jaina teacher (Guru). The work named 'Kalyāṇa-kārikā' is written in Sanskrit verse (Vide M.A.R. (1922), pp. 23 and pp. 56-57). It is divided into two parts including a 'Pariśiṣṭhādhyāya' relating to the Indian Āyurveda (Medicine). In the Pariśiṣṭhādhyāya the author Ugrāditya renders some valuable informations regarding his own self. He calls himself as Guru, Mahā-guru, Munīndra and Paṇḍita. He was a Deśi-Gaṇa and Pustakagaccha of the 'Kund-kunda' dynasty. He was a contemporary of Lalitakīrti Āchārya.* In this connection I like to point out that we meet the name of one Ingrāditya as a Saṅghivigrahin of Daṇḍī Mahādevī of Bhauma-Kara dynasty of Orissa. The inscription of Daṇḍī Mahādevī appears to be contemporary of the present inscription. (Vide E.I., Vol. VI, pp. 137 ff). In absence of any concret evidence in relation to either Ugrāditya or Kumāra Sena it is not possible to identify the person referred to in this inscription.

A NOTE ON THE HYPAETHRAL TEMPLE OF SIXTY-FOUR YOGINIS AT HIRAPUR.

By Sri Kedarnath Mahapatra,
with plates

In course of my official tour for surveying the antiquities and the palm-leaf manuscripts in the villages under the Baliana Police Station of the Puri District in the month of January, 1953, I unexpectedly got information from a village Chowkidar while encamping in the historical village of Alwārpur¹ about the existence of a circular enclosure, containing the images of various gods and goddesses in the village of Hirāpur, two miles away from my camp. This information aroused hope of discovering some unknown monument, resembling the famous circular cloister existing in the village of Ranipur-Jharial in the District of Balangir, Orissa, which I had got the chance of visiting twice before. In the early morning of the 21th January 1953, I hastened to Hirāpur with my informant and to my overwhelming joy I could discover another Hypaethral temple of 64 Yoginis at that place, which resembled the three other such temples, in many respects, that had been known before.

Hirāpur stands not far from the south bank of the river Bhārgavī, on which runs the well-known Jagannath road to Puri, at a distance of nearly three miles straight to the east of famous temple city of Bhubaneswar. Sisupalgarh, which has come to prominence during the recent years, stands midway between Bhubaneswar and Hirāpur. The surrounding area also contains some other ancient monuments, the chief of which is the temple of Kuṇḍalesvara Mahādeva in the neighbouring village of Umādei-Brahmapura, now-a-days called Tanḱapāni, which marked the eastern limit of the ancient Ekāmra-Kshetra, according to the verse quoted below.

1. From the paddy-field of this village Alwarpur, a set of copper-plate grants of Narasinha II of the Imperial Ganga family was discovered in 1900 A.D. which was subsequently melted by a brazier. But the reading of this charter made by the late Pandit Ratonskar Garabadu of Bhubaneswar is going to be published in E. I., by Dr. D. C. Sircar & Sri P. Acharya.

कुण्डावलि समासाय यत्रास्ते कुण्डलेश्वरः
आसाय बलहादेवी बहिरङ्गेश्वरावधि ॥²

This Kundalesvara Deva also finds mention in the grant portion of the Alwārpur copper-plate charter referred to above e. g. "दक्षिण सीमा श्रीरामपुर शासनीय कुण्डलेश्वरदेवस्य दण्डादं पर्यन्तेन" This temple seems to be a monument of the twelfth century. From the tradition still current in this area, it is known that like the Kundalesvara temple, this circular enclosure at Hirāpur was also included in the 'Pancha-Krośa Āyatana' of the ancient Ekāmra Kshetra, now-a-days known as Bhubaneswar. But for want of proper Archaeological survey this Pīṭha of sixty-four yoginīs existing within the limits of the ancient kshetra had escaped the notice of the scholars who had visited Bhubaneswar, and even remained unknown to the local people.

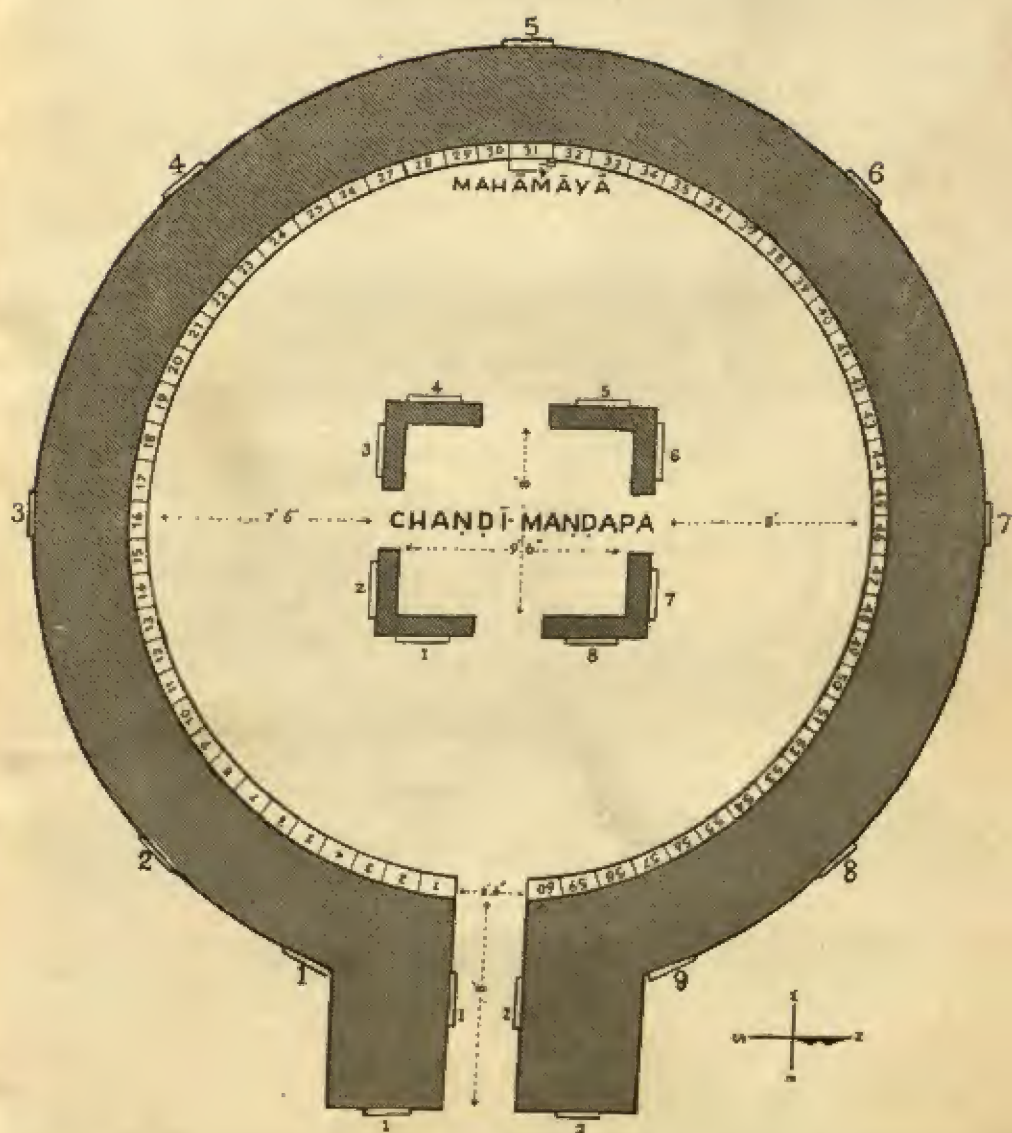
This circular enclosure (see plate 9) resembles a Gaurī-patta in appearance having a projection measuring 4' in length 2' 6" in breadth and 5' in height to its east where-in the only passage leading inside is found. The height of the enclosure from the level of the ground around the monument is 8ft. to 9ft. and the length of its outer circumference is nearly 90ft. The diameter of the circular space inside is nearly 25' and the height of the wall from its level is 6'—6'. The passage measures 8' in length and 2'—6" in breadth. The main structure is built of a coarse kind of sand-stone which is generally found in the Khandagiri and the neighbouring stone quarries, whereas its foundation has been constructed with blocks of laterite like many ancient temple of Bhubaneswar.

In the middle of the enclosed space, there is a rectangular Mandapa called Devī-Mandapa, measuring 9'—6" in length and 8' in breadth, the upper portion of which has been reconstructed a few years ago. It stands to a height of 9' from the ground level. This Devī Mandapa has four doors facing east, south, west and north having a breadth of 3'—4", 2'—1", 3'—4" and 2'—1" respectively. Near the Mandapa are to be seen some pillars, and blocks of sand-stone that were used in it before its fall.

The Yoginī Images :—In the circular wall round the enclosed space there are sixty niches for holding the images of sixty yoginīs, all of which still exist. All these images are carved in black chlorite and are in standing posture. They are described clock-wise as they exist in the wall, from the south-west corner of the passage to its north-west corner. Their measurements are given within brackets.



General view of the Yoginī temple at Hirapur
From N. E.
p. 24.



The Sketch of the ground plan of the circular temple at Hirapur



1. A four-armed figure (1'-8"×11") with broken hands, standing on a corpse. The braid of hair is over her head. She is adorned with ornaments like anklets, girdle, necklace, armlets kāpa (ear-ornament).

2. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-7"×9") standing on a corpse. The braid of hair is to the left side of her head. She wears ornaments like No. (1).

3. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×10") standing on an elephant. She wears a garland of skulls (munḍamālā) and holds in her left hand a skull-cup near her mouth, while her right hand is broken. The braid of hair is to the right side of her head. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

4. A four-armed figure (1'-10"×1') standing upon a tortoise having raised curling hair over her head. She holds a skull-cup in her upper right hand while her other three hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1. She may be taken as goddess Yamunā.

5. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-8"×11") standing on a full-blown lotus, with leaves on both sides. The braid of hair is over her head. She wears 'Nāga-keyūra' (armlet of Nāga), while the other ornaments are the same as in No. 1.

6. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×10") with broken hands having the braid of hair to the left of her head. In the pedestal is seen a line of waves (Tarāṅga-mālā). She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

7. A four-armed graceful figure (1'-8"×11") with broken hands standing upon the back of alligator. The beautiful braid of hair is over her head. She wears ornaments like No. 1. She may be identified with Gaurī.³

8. A two-armed figure (1'-10"×11") with broken hands standing upon the back of an elephant. The braid of hair is over her head. Her legs are broken. She may be identified with Aindrī.

9. A boar-faced four-armed figure (1'-10"×11"), riding upto the back of a buffalo. She wears Mukuta and Kirita over

3. Elements of Hindu Iconography by T. A. Gopinath Rao, Vol. I, part II p. 360.

her head and other ornaments like No. 1. She holds a skull-cup in her upper left hand and a chāpa (bow) in her lower left, while her two right hands are broken. She may be identified with Vārāhī.

10. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×9") with a fierce face standing on the hood and body of a serpent and having the braid of hair over her head. She wears a garland of skulls and 'Alakā' (an ornament of the head) and holds a khaḍga (sword) in her right hand, while her left hand is broken.

11. A monkey-faced four-armed figure (1'-10"×11") with broken hands, having the braid of hair over her head. In the pedestal is seen a camel. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

12. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-7"×10") with a smiling face and curling hair over her head. Her hands are broken. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1. In the pedestal is seen the Garuḍa for which she can be identified with Vaiṣṇavī.

13. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-10"×1') with broken hands and a beautiful braid of hair over her head. She is found standing on a boar and is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

14. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×11") with broken hands standing on a drum. The braid of hair is over her head. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.

15. A two-armed figure (1'-10"×11") with broken hands standing on a male figure (See plate 16). The male figure has beautiful curling hair over his head and holds the stem of a lotus in his right hand. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 2.

16. A four-armed figure (1'-11"×1') with broken hands standing upon the back of a fish, and having the braid of hair over her head. She wears a garland of skulls and ornaments like No. 1.

17. A four-armed figure (1'-8"×10") standing on a severed human head (चिन्न-मस्तक) and having the braid of hair over her head. She holds a bow in her lower left hand, while the other hands are broken. She wears ornaments like No. 1.

18. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'-8"×10") standing on something which appears like a flat-roofed house



Yoginī No. 15.
p. 28.





Yoginī Kauverī
p. 27

or cave having a door-like hole in the middle. She looks terrific in appearance with a buffalo-face and dishevelled hair over her head.

19. A two-armed figure (1'-7"×11") with broken hands standing on a big frog. She wears ornaments like No. 1 and has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head.

20. A two-armed terrific figure (1'-10"×11") standing on lion and having raised hair over her head. She lifts an elephant in her two hands over her head. She wears ornaments like No. 1.

21. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-8"×10") standing upon the back of a dog and having a nice braid of hair to the right of her head. Her right foot held tightly by both of her hands is placed over her left thigh. She wears ornaments like No. 1.

22. A four-armed figure (1'-10"×11") standing upon the back of a big serpent. She has got moustache, which is being trimmed by her upper left hand, while her other hands are broken. On her left shoulder lies a 'Tumaru' (a strigned musical instrument), the lower portion of which is seen on her right thigh. She has the braid of hair over her head and wears ornaments like No. 1.

23. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×10") with broken hands having the braid of hair over her head. She is adorned with ornaments like anklets, girdle, armlets, necklace etc. In the pedestal is seen a lines of waves.

24. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×10") with broken hands having seven 'Ratna-kalāṣas' in the pedestal as her cognizance. She wears Mukuta and Kirīṭa over her head and a bejewelled girdle and other ornaments. The braid of hair is to the right of her head. She may be identified with Kauverī. (See plate No. 11)

25. A two-armed bear-faced figure (1'-8"×10") with raised hair having a Padmalatā (lotus creeper) in the pedestal as her cognizance. She holds a Damaru in her right hand, while her left hand is broken. She wears various ornaments.

26. A lion-faced four-armed figure (1'-8"×10") with raised curling hair, like the mane of a lion over her head. She looks terrible in appearance. In her lower two hands she holds a pot-like thing, while the other two are broken. On the pedestal are found five flowers with leaves.

27. A two-armed graceful figure $(1'-8'' \times 10'')$ with the braid of hair to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments, and stands on a lotus bud together with leaves on both sides.

28. A two-armed terrific figure $(1'-9'' \times 10'')$ with broken hands, having a fierce face with protruding lips and curling matted hair over her head. The pedestal is broken.

29. A two-armed graceful figure $(1'-9'' \times 10'')$ standing on a full-blown lotus. She wears a garland of snakes and holds a Vajra (thunder-bolt) in her right hand and a shield in the other. The braid of hair is to the right of her head.

30. A two-armed graceful figure $(1'-9'' \times 10'')$ standing upon the back of a peacock, with broken hands. She wears 'Akshamālā' on her right arm and necklace, girdle and anklets. The shield held in her left hand is broken. She may be identified with Kaumārī.

31. A ten-armed graceful figure $(2'-2'' \times 1'-1'')$ with broken hands, and slightly bigger than the other 59 images. She stands upon a full-blown lotus under which is seen a square pedestal $(1'-10'' \times 1'-13'')$ with a projection to the north measuring 6". She wears Mukuta and Kirita over her head and a beautiful necklace, a jewelled girdle, anklets and armlets. The image, which is the presiding deity of this place is worshipped as Mahāmāyā and after her name this monument is also called the Mahāmāyā temple and the ancient tank to the south of this place also called the Mahāmāyā Pushkarinī.

The description of Mahāmāyā as given in the 58th chapter of the Kālikā Purāṇa tallies with that of this image, and as such she can be identified with Mahāmāyā.

32. A two-armed figure $(1'-6'' \times 10'')$ with broken hands having a fierce face and raised curling hair over her head. In the pedestal is seen the figure of an archer kneeling on the ground and fighting with a bow in her left hand and an arrow in other, while the quiver is seen hanging on his right shoulder.

33. A two-armed graceful figure $(1'-9'' \times 10'')$ standing upon a crab and having the braid of hair to the left of her head. She is adorned with ornaments like No. 1.



Yogini no. 39
p. 29

34. A four-armed snake-faced figure (1'-9"×11") adorned with various ornaments. Her four hands and the pedastal are broken.

35. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×10") standing on a cot with four legs. Her arms are broken. She wears Mukuta and Kirita over her head and various ornaments on her body.

36. A two-armed figure (1'-9"×10") with a fierce face and raised hair over her head, standing upon the back of a horned animal resembling a buffalo.

37. A two-armed figure (1'-9"×11") standing upon the back of a crow with the braid of hair over her head. She holds a sword in her right hand, while her left hand is broken. She is adorned with various ornaments.

38. An elephant-faced two armed figure (1'-9"×9") standing upon the back of an ass and having Jata-juta (knot of matted hair) over her head. Her hands are broken.

39. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9"×11") standing upon the back of a rat and having a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments and holds a bow in her left hand and the bow-string in the right. (See plate No. 11.)

40. A four-armed graceful figure (1'-10"×11") standing upon a scorpion. She wears Kirita over her head and various ornaments over her body. Her upper two hands are raised while the lower two are broken.

41. A two-armed figure (1'-9"×10") standing upon the back of a bull, with the braid of hair to the right of her head. She is adorned with various ornaments on her body.

42. A four-armed figure (1'-10"×11") keeping her two legs on two chakras or wheels below which is seen a mongoose. The braid of hair is to the right of her head. Her two lower hands lean against both the knee-joints. In her upper right hand she holds a damaru, while the upper left hand is broken.

43. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×11") with broken hands having a cock in the pedastal as her cognizance. She wears various ornaments and the braid of hair is to the right of her head.

44. A two-armed figure (1'-9"×10") with broken hands standing upon the back of a lion. She has curling hair over her head and wears various ornaments,

45. A four-armed figure (1'-10"×1') with broken hands standing in a wooden pot meant for containing turmeric-paste (Haladi-Kāṭhuā in Oriya). To the south of this pot is seen a flower vase. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head over which is tied a flower-garland. She wears a Mukuta and various ornaments over her body.

46. A two-armed figure (1'-8"×13") standing on a male figure with two hands in lying posture. She holds a Trisūla in her right hand while her left hand is broken. The male figure wears a Mukuta and a Kirita over his head and has a third eye over her fore-head and as such he may be identified with Siva and the female figure with Kālī.

47. A four-armed graceful figure (1'-10"×11") wearing Mukuta and Kirita over her head and various ornaments on her body. In her upper left hand she holds a Nāga pāśa, and her lower left hand is in the pose of Abhayamudrā. In the pedestal are three big and some small full-blown flowers and on the middle big flower the deity stands. Her two right hands are broken.

48. A two-armed graceful figure (1'-9"×10") holding a sword in her right hand and keeping her left hand upon a wine vessel (Madya Bhāṇḍa), kept on the pedestal. She has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head and wears a tiara on her head and other ornaments on her body. In the pedestal is seen an earthen pot with a conical lid on it.

49. A two-armed figure (1'-10"×11") with broken hands, having the braid of hair to the left of her head. She wears a tiara on her head and other ornaments on her body. In the pedestal is seen a conch-shell with its two legs.

50. A three-faced four-armed figure (1'-7"×11") with broken hands wearing Mukuta and Kirita over her head, and sacred thread and other ornaments on her body. The pedestal is gone, but in its left end is seen a decorative lion holding a garland of beads in its mouth. She can be identified with Brahmānī.

51. A two-armed figure (1'-10"×11") with a fierce face standing on a wooden seat having eight legs. She has two long raised ears, and two long knots of matted hair hanging on both sides of her head.



Agneyi
p. 31

52. A two-armed figure (1'8" × 11") standing upon the back of a ram. She holds a sword in her up-raised right hand, but her left hand is broken. She wears various ornaments. The flames of fire are seen rising in the back-ground. She may be identified with Āgneyī. (See plate No. 12)

53. A two-armed figure (1'10" × 10") with the braid of hair over her head. In the pedastal is seen a parrot as her cognizance. She hold something in her left hand, but her right hand is broken.

54. A two-armed figure (1'10" × 10") with broken hands, standing on a wooden seat having four legs. The braid of hair is to the right of her head. She wears various ornaments.

55. A two-armed graceful figure (1'8" × 10") with broken hands, having a beautiful braid of hair over her head. She is adorned with different ornaments. In the pedastal is seen a Chāmarī cow (female yak) as her cognizance.

56. A four-armed terrifying figure (1'9" × 11") reduced to a mere skeleton, with lean hanging breasts and raised hair over her head. She wears a garland of skulls and holds a fierce lion over her head in her upper two hands, a Kartrī in her lower right hand and a severed head (चिह्न मस्तक) in her lower left hand. In the pedastal is seen a musk-deer as her cognizance.

57. A two-armed figure with broken hands (1'9" × 11") standing upon the back of a horned deer. The braid of hair is over her head. She is adorned with various ornaments.

58. A four-armed figure (1'9" × 11") standing upon the back of a 'Makara', with the braid of hair over her head. She is adorned with various ornaments. She holds the petiole of a full-blown lotus in her upper right hand and a Nāga pāsa in her lower left, but her two right hands are broken. She may be identified with Gaṅgā.

59. A two-armed figure (1'9" × 10") standing upon the back of a duck, with the braid of hair over her head. She holds a sūrpa (winnowing-fan) in both of her hands.

60. A two-armed figure (1'11" × 1") standing on the back of a horse, with the braid of hair to the left of her head. Her hands are broken. In the back-ground is seen a Kadamva tree. Out of these sixty figures Nos. 8, 9, 12, 30, 60 represent Aindā, Varāhī, Vaiṣṇavī, Kāmāmarī, Brahmāṇī respectively which belong to the famous Saptā-Mātṛkā group.

Images on the modern shrine called Chandī-Maṇḍapa:—There is a niche in each corner on the outer surface of the four walls of the Chandī-Maṇḍapa, for holding an image. So there were altogether 8 images on this Maṇḍapa, all carved in chlorite of which 7 are still existing and one is missing. They are described as follows:—

(1). In the southern niche of the eastern wall, there is a four-armed male figure ($2 \times 1'$) with only one leg, standing on a full-blown lotus. He wears a garland of skulls, a kirīta over his head, and bracelets and armlets of snakes (Sarpavalaya and Sarpa-Keyura). He holds a Khadga (sword) in his upper right hand, a shield in his upper left hand and the back-bone of a fish (used as a kind of weapon) in the lower left hand, while his lower right hand is broken. There is a halo over his head. There are two male attendants on both sides of the deity, each of which holds a sword in his right hand and a shield in the other. This may be identified with 'Ajaiḥapāda Bhairava'.

(2). In the eastern niche of the southern wall there is a ten-armed male figure ($1'-11' \times 1'-1'$) sitting on a seat of double conventional lotus, (विश्व-पद्मासन) with its Liṅga raised upwards. In the pedestal is seen a corpse whose Navinādī-rajju (umbilical cord) is being pulled out by one of the left hands of the deity. He holds in two other left hands, 'Akshamālā' and a skull-cup, and a drum in his lower right hand. He wears Kirīta over his head, over which there is a halo. In the left corner of the pedestal there is a two-armed female attendant holding a Śaṅkha (conch-shell) in her right hand and a skull-cup in the other. There are the figures of two flying damsels at the two corners above the halo.

3. In the western niche of the southern wall, there is a ten-armed male figure ($1'-11' \times 1'-1'$) sitting on a seat of double conventional louts (Viśvapadmāsana) with its Liṅga raised upwards. His right leg is pressed over the head of a figure sleeping in the pedestal. He wears Kirīta over his head and various ornaments over his body. There is a halo over his head above which are seen two flying damsels at the two top corners. He holds a 'Damaru' in his uppermost right hand and some fruit (?) in his lowest right hand. In his two upper left hands are found a Triśūla (trident) set in a shield, and an Akshamālā. In the right corner of the pedestal is seen the figure of a female attendant with a terrific face and dishevelled hair over her head, holding a skull-cup in her left hand.



See para 8
p. 33



4. The S. W. N. niche of the western wall is empty and the Pujakas say that there was a Yoginī image there which had been taken away to a place called Yamunkuda.

5. In the N. W. W. niche of the western wall, there is a four-armed female deity, ($1'8'' \times 10''$) standing upon the back of a female deer. She wears various ornaments and has got a beautiful braid of hair over her head resembling a lotus bent downwards.

6. In the N. W. N. niche of the northern wall there is a four-armed graceful female deity riding on a galloping horse. She wears a Kirita over her head and various ornaments on the body. She holds a shield in her upper left hand and a bow in her lower left one. Her two right hands are broken. She also possesses a quiver.

7. In the N. E. N. niche of the northern wall there is two-armed female deity ($1'8'' \times 10''$) in dancing posture with a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head. She places her left hand over the waist. In the pedestal is seen a male deer on both sides of which are two vases, from each of which a flower plant rises upwards.

8. In the N. E. E. niche of the eastern wall there is a ten-armed nude male deity ($2' \times 1'$) sitting on a seat of double conventional lotus (विश्व पद्मसन). He wears a Kirita over his head above which there is a halo and two flying damsels at two top corners. He holds a 'Damaru' in his uppermost right hand and an *akṣamaṇḍala* in his uppermost left hand but his other hands are broken. In the pedestal is seen a male figure lying with his head placed on his right palm over whom the right leg of the deity is pressed. In the left corner is seen the figure of a female attendant holding a sword in her right hand and a skull-cup in the other. (See plate No. 12.)

*Images on both sides of the passage :—*1. Right-side : A two-armed standing nude male deity ($3'8'' \times 2'$) wearing a garland of skulls and anklets of snakes. He looks terrifying in appearance, with his emaciated body, sunken belly, matted hair, and fighting pose. He holds a skull-cup in his right hand but his left hand is broken. He is facing west towards Mahāmāyā. On the pedestal, to the left side of the deity is seen a flower plant. In the pedestal is seen a jackal and in its left corner are the figures of two male attendants looking very lean and thin. Each of them holds a kartrī in his right hand a skull-cup in the other.

2. Left-side : The image (3'-4" × 1'-9") is similar to that on the right side. But there is some difference between them. This image holds a severed head in his left hand. The attendant to the left of the flower-plant is found drinking something (blood?) and the attendant to its right is found holding two skull-cups in both the hands. Both the images are carved in sand-stone of some-what yellowish colour.

The two Dvarapalas :—1. The southern Dvārapāla is a two-armed male figure (2'-10" × 1'-9") with broken hands, having a lotus creeper in the pedestal as his cognizance, He wears ear-ornaments.

2.* The northern Dvārapāla is also a two-armed male figure (2'-10" × 1'-7") having a bulging belly, and a fierce face with matted hair over his head. He holds a skull-cup in his left hand, while the other one is broken. A lotus creeper is seen in the pedestal. This image is broken in to two parts near its waist.

NINE KATYĀYINĪ IMAGES:—There are nine female deities set in nine niches on the outer surface of the circular enclosure which are called Katyāyiniīs by the local people. All of them have been carved in sand stone of some what yellowish colour, They are described clock-wise from the meeting point of the enclosure and the right wall of the passage.

1. A two-armed female deity (2'-9" × 1'-7") standing on a severed human head with curling hair. She holds a sword in her right hand, but her left hand is broken. See has a beautiful braid of hair to the right of her head and wears Churis (a kind of bracelet) and a necklace. At both the ends of the pedestal are seen the figures of two male attendants each beating a drum.

2. A two-armed female deity (2'-6" × 1'-6") standing on a severed human head with curling hair. She holds a skull-cup in her left hand, but her right hand is broken. She wears bracelets, a necklace and anklets and the braid of hair is to the left of her head. On the right side of the deity there is a male attendant holding an umbrella over her head. In the pedestal are seen a dog and a jackal to the right and the left respectively of the severed head.

3. A two-armed female deity (2'-11" × 1'-6") standing on a severed human head, and holding a Kartrī (knife) in her right hand and a skull-cup in the other. She wears various ornaments



Kātyayani No. 5.
p. 35

and the braid of hair is to the left of her head. On the right side of the deity is seen a female attendant holding an umbrella over her head. In the pedestal are seen a jackal and a dog as in No 2.

4. A two-armed female deity ($2'9" \times 1'6"$) standing on a severed human head and holding the same things as No. 3. The female attendants in No. 3 & 4 are also similar. But her braid of hair is to the right of her head and she wears Akshamālā on her arms. The jackal is seen to the left and the dog to the right of the severed head in the pedestal and a female is seen feeding the dog.

5. This deity ($2'7" \times 1'7"$) is similar to No. 2, the only difference being that a female attendant is seen holding an umbrella over the head of the deity. (See Plate 13.)

6. This deity ($2'7" \times 1'7"$) is similar to No. 4. But there is some difference which is noted below e.g. there is a tree standing to her right and the female attendant is seen holding something over her head resembling the crescent of the moon instead of an umbrella.

7. This figure ($2'8" \times 1'6"$) is similar to No. 3.

8. This figure ($2'9" \times 1'6"$) is also similar to No. 3.

9. This deity ($2'6" \times 1'5"$) is smaller than the other 8 images. She is nude and looks terrific with dishevelled hair over her head. She stands on a severed human head and holds a sword in her right hand and a skull-cup in her left like others, but a bow is seen lying on her left shoulder, which is a special feature. There is no attendant here and in the pedestal are seen two jackals instead of one jackal and one dog.

Thus there are at present existing altogether $60+7+2+2+9=80$ images in this sacred Pīṭha while only one Yoginī image is missing. Like Ranipur Jharial the entire pantheon of sixty-four Yoginī images was existing here from the beginning, but one Yoginī image has been removed to some other place. Of the existing 63, only Mahāmāyā, the presiding deity of this Pīṭha is ten-armed, 19 are four-armed and 43 are two-armed. If the entire lot of 80 is taken into account, we find that 56 images are two-armed, 20 are four-armed and only 4 are ten-armed. Thus two-armed deities predominate here.

The special features of this Pīṭha which deserve notice are mentioned below.

(1) The dimension of this Pīṭha is smaller than those of Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat: the inner diameter of this enclosure is only 25', whereas that of Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat are 47' and 116'·2" respectively.⁵

(2) At Ranipur-Jharial there is a small Maṇḍapa on four pillars in the middle of the enclosure, enshrining an image of three-headed eight-armed Śiva in the pose of Tāṇḍava-dance, near which are seen the images of Gaṇeśha and Pārvatī.⁶ From the existence of pillars that are lying on the ground near the Devī-Maṇḍapa at Hirapur, it can safely be ascertained that like Ranipur-Jharial there was also a pillared Maṇḍapa here before the existing one was reconstructed in recent years, but the images it contains are different from those at Ranipur Jharial. In Bheraghat, instead of a pillared Maṇḍapa the temple of Gouṛī-Śaṅkara is to be seen. But it does not stand in the centre or centre-line as at Hirapur and Jharial, but stands at a point which approaches too close to the circumference.

(3) The projection for the passage, found at Hirapur is absent at Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat.

(4) Both at Hirapur and Ranipur-Jharial, the number of Yoginī images was 64, as is required in the Hindu scripture, but it exceeds the conventional 64 at Bheraghat. The number remaining the same there is some difference regarding the enshrinement of the Yoginī images. At Ranipur-Jharial there were 64 niches in the wall of the enclosure for containing the images of 64 yoginīs, of which only 48 are existing at present. At Bheraghat all the 81 images are found in niches made in the circular enclosure. But at Hirapur there are only 60 niches in the enclosure from the very beginning for holding 60 images only, while the remaining four were perhaps enshrined in the former pillared Maṇḍapa.

(5) One most important point of difference, which has got much significance, is the absence of the images of two Dvārapālas, two Bhairava images on both sides of the passage, and the images of nine female deities called Kātyāyinīs on the exterior of

5. The Baihyas of Tripuri and their Monuments by R.D. Banerjee, P. 67.

6. Archaeological Survey of India by A. Cunningham, Vol. XIII, p. 136.

the enclosure. Both at Bheraghat and Hirapur the total number of images was 81. But the arrangement of the images at, Hirapur, clearly proves that the Śāstric injunctions regarding the construction of the Yoginī Pīṭha have been strictly followed at Hirapur, but not at Ranipur Jharial and Bheraghat which may be taken as a proof of its earlier origin. Moreover the vāhanas of the deities have not been given at Ranipur-Jharial which is also a violation of the Śāstric rules.

(6) At Hirapur 77 out of existing 80 images are standing figures and only three are seating figures and again these three are of male deities. In Ranipur-Jharial almost all the images excepting a few are standing or dancing figures. But at Bheraghat out of 81 images only five are standing figures. Thus standing figures predominate at Hirapur as well as Ranipur-Jharial, where as it is just the reverse at Bheraghat.

(7) Not a single image at Hirapur and Ranipur-Jharial is inscribed, whereas the majority of the images at Bheraghat are inscribed. R. D. Banerji wrote on these images as follows :—

“The images inside the circular temple fall into two broad groups. One class consists of standing figures carved out of a brittle reddish sandstone, which are not inscribed, while the second class consists of seated images and in the majority of cases carved out of a dull yellowish sandstone, which are invariably inscribed and the letters of which point to the tenth century, as the date of their execution. × × × Now the standing images are earlier in date than the seated images.”

He further writes about the standing images. “This class of images is not inscribed, but appear to belong to the Kushan period on the analogy of the images discovered by the late Mr. Fandey at the same place.”

From the above description it is quite clear that the images at Bheraghat belong to different periods. Even the circular cloister at Bheraghat belongs to two different periods in the opinion of Cunningham, who writes thus—
“I conclude, therefore that the circular cloister as it at present stands is the work of two different periods. The old circular

7. At Hirapur the number of existing niche images is 80, but if the missing one is added to it, the number comes to 81.

8. The Haihayas of Tripuri and their monuments by R. D. Banerji, p. 69.

9. *Ibid*, p. 78.

wall with its inscribed statues belonging to the 10th century; and the cloister, with its roof, being the work of queen Alhana Devī in the twelfth century."¹⁰ But the images as well as the structure of the circular enclosure at Hirapur belong to the same period and excepting the upper portion the Chaṇḍī Maṇḍapa, every thing remains in its original position.

Date of the monument :—The circular cloister at Bheraghat has been assigned to a period ranging from the tenth century to twelfth century on the strength of evidence furnished by the inscriptions found there. As regards the date of the circular temple at Ranipur-Jharial, Cunningham writes as follows :—

“Of its antiquity there can be no doubt as in style of work and execution, it approaches closest to the great inscribed temple, which I have already assigned to the eighth century of our era; I cannot assign it to a later date than the ninth century.”¹¹ But there is no inscription in this circular temple at Hirapur or nearby with the help of which its date can be fixed somewhat definitely. So its date can be fixed with the help of archaeology and the extant literature on Tantric religion.

The predominance of the standing as well as the two-handed figures in the circular temple at Hirapur is a sure sign of its antiquity and as such it may be taken to be earlier than those at Ranipur-Jharial and Bheraghat. The sculpture of the images at Bheraghat and Ranipur-Jharial is much more elaborate than that of the images at Hirapur, there being the figures of attendants and worshippers near the Yoginī images, in those two places, which are completely absent at Hirapur, which tends to prove its greater antiquity.

Thirdly the Yoginī Pīṭhas were established, when the Brahmanical Tantric religion became very popular in the society and began to vie with the Vajrayāna of the Buddhists, which originated in Uddīyāna in the sixth-seventh century. From the Kālikāpurāṇa, which was written in Assam in the 11th century,¹² it is known that the first Brāhmanical Tantric Pīṭha in India, originated and developed in Oḍradeśa, the presiding deity of which country was Jagannātha.

10. Archaeological Survey of India by Cunningham, Vol. IX, p. 73.

11. *Ibid* Vol. XIII, p. 132.

12. Kalika Purana a compilation of the time of Dharmapala of Kamarupa by Tirthanath Sarma I. H. Q. Vol. XXIII pp. 322-326.

जालम्बरं लिखेत पीठं मुत्तर पश्चिमे लिखेत्
 ओङ्कपीठं दक्षणे तु कामरूपन्तु पूर्वतः ॥ (13)
 ओङ्कार्यं प्रथमं पीठं द्वितीयं जालघोलकं
 तृतीयं पूर्णपीठन्तु कामरूपं चतुर्थकं
 ओङ्कपीठं पश्चिमे तु तथैवो द्वेद्वरीशिवं
 कात्यायिनीं जगन्नाथमोङ्क्यां च प्रदूजयेत् (14)

The *Kālikā Purāṇa*, which describes in great details the origin, development, religious significance and the rituals of the *Yoginī Pūjā*, speaks in unmistakable terms that in Orḍra or Orissa, the Brahmanical Tantric religion first developed. This statement of *Kālikāpurāṇa* is corroborated by the existence of a lot of temples in the coastal region of Orissa, some of which are pure Hindu Tantric Pīṭhas, while others have been greatly influenced by the Tantric faith. The temple of goddess Virajā at Jajpur, who finds mention in the Sanskrit *Māhābhārata*, is one of the oldest Tantric Pīṭhas of the Hindus. The images of the *Sapta Mātṛkās* on the *Vaitaraṇī* at Jajpur and those near the *Mārkaṇḍesvara* temple at Puri have been assigned tentatively to the eighth century. The *Paraśu-rāmeśvara* temple at Bhubaneswar, which is assigned to the seventh century contains the images of *Sapta Mātṛkās*.¹³ (1). The *Kapālīnī*, (2). the *Mohinī*, (3). the *Uttarāyaṇī*, (4). the *Gaurī* (5) the *Rāmāyaṇī* and (6) the *Dakṣiṇa Chaṇḍī* temples of Bhubaneswar are regarded as famous Tantric Pīṭhas and the existing temples of the first four deities have been assigned to the eighth century by all the reputed historians. Only in the temple of *Kapālīnī* sixteen images, besides the images of *Kāpālīnī*, who is the presiding deity of the temple, have been set in the walls inside the *Carbhagṛha*. The *Kapālīnī* is a *Chāmunda* image and of the other sixteen, seven are the figures of *Mātṛkas*, and four are *Yoginī* images. In this respect the temple of *Kapālīnī* seems to be intimately connected with the circular temple at Hirapur, where the entire pantheon of 64 *Yoginīs*, nine *Kātyāyinīs* and some *Bhairava* images are worshipped, which indicates the gradual development of the Tantric cult. From this point of view, the temple of Hirapur seems to be later than that of *Kapālīnī*. On the

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13. *Kalikapurana*, edited and published by Panohanana Tarkaratna in Bengali script, Chapter 63, Verse No. 11.
 14. *Ibid*, Chapter 63, verses 43 & 44.
 15. Date of the *Parasurameswar Temple at Bhubaneswar* by Sri K. C. Panigrahi, M. A., J.R.A.S. Vol. XV. No. 2, P. 110.

grounds stated above the temple of 64 Yoginīs at Hirapur may be assigned to the eighth or early ninth century of the Christian era, when Brāhmanical Tantric religion became predominant in Orissa, and most of the famous Tantric temples of this region raised their heads. 'Oḍrapīṭha' being the first Tantric Pīṭha in India, according to Kālikāpurāṇa, which is taken as an authority on Hindu Tantra, it can legitimately be assumed that the Yoginī cult which originated in the coastal region of Orissa somewhere near Puri, gradually spread in the adjoining hilly tracts of Orissa and M. P., having its centres first at Ranipur Jharial, which is also another small city of temples, like Bhubaneswar, and then in Bheraghat, near which are seen the monuments of different ages.

AN IMAGE OF LOKANĀTHA FROM BHUBANESWAR.

By Sri S. C. De.

See Plate 14

Recently a life-size image was found lying buried in a plot of land situated near the Brahmesvara temple of Bhubaneswar. It was located accident at the time of ploughing, and was subsequently removed to the State Museum where it is now preserved. Though the image is an unique piece of sculpture, unfortunately its head is missing.

The find is very significant for two reasons :—

1. This is perhaps the first independent Buddhist image discovered in Bhubaneswar proper.

2. It belongs to a period when Buddhism in Orissa is believed to have been almost extinct.

The image measures $55\frac{1}{2}'' \times 27\frac{1}{2}''$ from the bottom of the pedestal to the neck. The image has two hands, but unfortunately, the forearms of both of them are broken. It is decked with a four-stringed necklace and a six-stringed ratnahāra around the neck. The other ornaments are, kaṭibandha, keyūra with kirttimukha design in the centre and anklets of the nūpura type to which sounding bells are attached. The drapery consists of a dhoti, or loin cloth, coming down to the knees. The image stands gracefully in the conventional pose of the standing figures of Buddhist Avalokiteśvara images.

On the two sides of the image, there are two standing female figures. The one on the right side is in perfect condition, and provides clue to fixing the approximate date of the image and also to the identification of it. The figure on the left side is four-handed: her face and the upper two hands are unfortunately gone. The figure on the right side is holding a lotus-bud in her left hand, and with the other, she is opening the petals of the lotus. The female figure on the left is holding a rosary in the right hand and a kamaṇḍalu in the left.

On the pedestal are carved ten figures, six on the right side and four on the left. Of the six figures on the right, four are mendicants, or Buddhist bhikshus, one is a nun, and the remaining one is Sūchīmukha. They are all looking eagerly at the image with their palms folded to receive something, probably nectar, as indicated by the presence of Sūchīmukha. The four figures on the left including one female are all lay-devotees.

There is a stout lotus stem on the left side of the image, and from the stem issues the stalk of a lotus which was evidently held in the left hand of the image. The clear traces of the stalk on the left shoulder of the image leaves no doubt about the fact that the lotus was sculptured just above the shoulder.

The lotus stalk on the left side helps us to identify the image as that of Avalokiteśvara. Since there are many forms of Avalokiteśvara, the identification will be incomplete unless the particular form is indicated.

According to a Sādhana, Avalokiteśvara in his Khasarpaṇa form sits in ardhaparyāṅka āsana, is decked with all ornaments, exhibits varada mudrā in the right hand and holds a lotus stem in the left; he is engaged in bestowing stream of nectar which flows from his hand while Sūchīmukha receives the same. He is accompanied by four deities, Tārā and Sudhāṅkumārā in the right and Bhṛkuṭī and Hayagrīva on the left side. Tārā causes to blossom with her right hand a lotus flower whose stem is held in her left hand. She is well decked with ornaments and looks youthful. Bhṛkuṭī has four arms; she carries a staff with three horns and a kamandalu in the two left hands, displays varadamudrā with the raised right hand and holds rosary in the other one.

In case of the image under reference, the female figure on the right side is evidently Tārā, while that on the left is Bhṛkuṭī. Since the figure under reference is standing, and is accompanied by Tārā and Bhṛkuṭī only, it can not be identified as Khasarpaṇa.

In Lokanātha form, Avalokiteśvara sits in lalitāsana, shows varadā pose in the right hand and holds the stem of a lotus in left as in case of Khasarpaṇa. Lokanātha is sometime accompanied by Tārā and Hayagrīva.²

1. Bhattacharya, *Buddhist Iconography*, pp. 37-38

2. *Ibid*, pp. 39, 40.

The image under reference differs from the above in respect of āṇa and accompanying figures.

In Padmapāṇi variety, Avalokiteśvara is represented as standing with lotus stalk in the left hand and displaying varada mudrā in the right hand.³

Elsewhere, Dr. Bhattacharya writes, "For purpose of identification we have to notice the two lotuses on the two sides which are well-known symbols of Padmapāṇi, the emanation of Amitābha. Lokanātha is that form of Padmapāṇi in which he may or may not be associated with any other deity of the Khasarpaṇa maṇḍala, such as, Sudhana, Hayagriva, Tārā and Brakutī : but when all four are present, he is to be recognised as Khasarpaṇa. Moreover, Khasarpaṇa generally is described as sitting in lakṣa attitude but Lokanātha may take any attitude, such as, ardhaparyāṅka attitude in the present figure; even standing figures of Lokanātha are not at all uncommon in art".

In view of the above facts, the image can not be identified as Padmapāṇi Avalokiteśvara, since it is accompanied by two of the deities of Khasarpaṇa group. So it is to be identified as Lokanātha form of Avalokiteśvara.

Date :—The image of Tārā standing on the right side of the deity is, fortunately, in perfect state of preservation. It is a slim figure with a beautiful pointed nose. The hair is done into a bulging knot on her right side. These three features of the figures help us to determine approximately the age of the sculpture. There is very little doubt about the fact that it belongs to the same school of art as the sculptures of the Līṅgarāja and Brahmesvara temples of Bhubaneswar. All the above three features are to be found in many female figures on the walls of the temples mentioned above. So, the sculpture may be assigned to about the middle of the 11th century A. D. The Buddhist images discovered at Choudwar are also assignable to the same period.⁴

So, the image under reference together with the Buddhist sculptures of Choudwar, referred to above, proves beyond doubt that Buddhism was prevailing at Bhubaneswar and in Orissa, as late as the 11th century A. D. We are yet in darkness

3. *Ibid*, pp. 188.

4. Bhattacharya, *Sadhanamala*, Vol. II. Introduction, pp. clxvli.

5. M. A. S. I, No. 44, pl. VII, fig. 4 and pl. VIII, figs. 1 & 2.

as to the history of Buddhism in Orissa in subsequent period and its final disappearance. On the evidence of literature of 15th-16th centuries we can say that disintegration had set in Buddhism about the 15th century and it was being slowly absorbed by Vaishnavism.⁶ The last blow was probably struck by the Chaitanya movement in Orissa in the 16th century A. D. whereafter Buddhism was almost merged in Vaishnavism. Further archaeological discoveries will help to reconstruct the history of medieval Buddhism in Orissa.

According to a tradition recorded in *Madalāpāñji*, Madana Mahādeva, alias, Rājārājesvara Deva, the successor of Kāma Deva, exterminated the Buddhists living in the caves of Śārā, Pāmra, Bindhyesvari, Banivakresvara, Yamunājhāḍapadā, Arāgaḍa and Dhauli hills.⁷ The very same story of persecution of the Buddhists is also ascribed to Prātaparudra Deva by Mr. Stirling who has not quoted the source of his information. Up to the present, the above traditions have not been confirmed by any evidence. But, the image under reference lends some support to the tradition recorded in *Madalāpāñji*, referred to above, that Buddhist monks lived in the caves of Dhauli hills in the time of Rājārāja II (1170-1194 A. D.)

6. The subject has been dealt with at length by N. N. Vasu in *Mayurbhanj Archaeological Survey Vol. I, Chapter-II* and by Sri P. Mukherjee in *Oriasan Vaishnavism* Chapter-X.

7. *Madalapanji*, Prachi Samiti, pp. 25-26.

(i) १म पाञ्चिमते : एमन्त बोलि बौद्धमानङ्कुर मुण्ड खेचादवा बेलकु बौद्धमाने राजाङ्कु साय्य देइ पर्वत गुम्फामानङ्कुर बाहार होइ वरण्यकु गले ।
३य पाञ्चिमते :—‘ए राजा बौद्धमानङ्कु मारि उल्लभ करिदेले ।

(ii) According to one version of *Madalapanji*, Kama Deva was succeeded by Madana Mahadeva, while according to another, Kamadeva's successor is given as Rajarajasesvara Deva who may be identified with Rajaraja II, (1170-94 A. D.), the brother of Kamaradeva. The *Madalapanji* omits the name of Raghava who succeeded Kamaradeva and whose successor was Rajaraja II.

(iii) The following hills mentioned as abodes of the Buddhist monks in the *Madalapanji* have been located in the one inch topographical map.

(a) *Banivakresvara* is near the village, Beguniapara about 3 miles to the west of Motari Rly. Station in Puri Khurda line, E. Railway.

(b) *Yamunajharpada* is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south west of Khurda Road Station in Howrah-Puri line of E. Rly.

(c) *Arāgaḍa* is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the east of Khurda Road Station.

(d) *Dhauli* is about $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles to the south of Bhubaneswar.

The other three hills, Saara, Pāmra, and Vindhyesvari could not be located.

8. Stirling's Orissa, 1904 reprint, Calcutta pp. 80-81.

A NOTE ON YOGĪ PRAHARĀJA MAHĀPĀTRA AND HIS WORKS.

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra, B. A.

Sri P. K. Gode, M. A. has published a very interesting paper on Yogī Praharāja¹ wherein he has made an attempt to fix tentatively the date of this scholar. The following additional information obtained about him and his patron during the course of research on the Sanskrit poets and scholars of Orissa deserves publication as desired by Sri Gode.

Scholars are glad to know that the Curator, Oriental Manuscripts Library, Madras has published Vaidya Hridayānanda of Yogī Praharāja in the bulletin of that library (Vol. IV, No. 1. pp. 1-46 for the year 1951) which has not yet come to my notice. But there is an undated palmleaf manuscript written in Oriya characters of the early 19th century in the Manuscript Section of the Orissa State Museum, Bhubaneswar, which I examined last year. Towards the close of this work in the last or fifth Prakāsa the following verse quoted by Sri Gode is also found.

यन्नातः प्रहराज ज्योतिषरविः त्रिनीलकण्ठः सुधीः
श्रीमन्नन्दपुरेण विक्रमनृप श्रीपट्टराजी गुरुः

At the end of each Prakāsa the poet speaks of himself and his work in the following manner.

इति श्री कविवर योगी प्रहराज महापात्र विरचिते
वेद्य हृदयानन्दे.....प्रकाशः

1. Date of Vaidya Hridayananda. A work on medicine by Yogī Praharaja later than (A.D. 1500) by P. K. Gode, M.A.. The Journal of Oriental Research, Madras, Vol. XIX, Part II, Dec. 49, pp. 166-171.

The surname Praharāja Mahāpātra found in this quotation is still very common among the Brahmins of Orissa.

There are still hundreds of Brahmin families in Orissa belonging to the Vatsagotra who bear the surname Mahāpātra. For generations the family of Kavidiṇḍima Jīvadeva Ācharya (1478-1550) having Vatsa Gotra, were the mantra-gurus of the successive ruling families of Orissa belonging to Somavamśa (C. 950-1112), Gaṅgavamśa (1112-1435 A. D.) and Surya Vamśa (1435-1540 A. D.). The list of rulers and their Gurus is given in the published portion of the *Bhakti-bhāgavata Mahākāvya* of Jīvadeva. So without any fear of contradiction it can be said that Yogī Praharāja Mahāpātra was an Oriya Brahmin.

The verse quoted above is very important as it supplies the clue to fix the time and place of activity of the author and also to identify his patron. The word 'Nandapureṇa' in its context clearly indicates that he flourished in the kingdom of Nandapura. The kingdom of Nandapura was so called after the name of its capital town Nandapura which is now found in ruins in the Koraput District of Orissa. Subsequently it was known as Jeypore kingdom, when Jeypore became its capital. This kingdom which was very extensive in the 16th century was bounded by the kingdoms of Bastar in the west, Kalahandi in the North-east, and Khimidi in the east and included a major portion of the present Vizagapatam and some parts of the East Godavari Districts of the Andhra State. This kingdom used to form a part of the Orissa Empire under the Imperial Gaṅgas (1135-1435) and the Suryavamśi kings (1435-1540) and its rulers who owed allegiance to the Emperors of Orissa began to be styled as 'Nyūna Gajapatis' or 'Lesser Gajapatis' in a later period. Towards the close of the 16th century Nandapura came under the subjugation of the Kutbshahi Sultans of Golkonda, which brought about its steady decline due to gradual loss of small estates in the coastal tracts during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It acknowledged British supremacy in the last quarter of the 18th century and the remaining portion of the old Nandapura kingdom as it existed at the time of introduction of the Permanent Settlement by the British in 1802 A. D. began to be called the Jeypore zamindari. This Oriya zamindari which remained in the Madras Presidency was amalgamated with Orissa when it was

2. Report on the Search of Sanskrit Ms (1901-02 to 1950-06) by Mr. H. P. Shastri. Published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal pp. 14-16

created a separate province on the 1st April 1936 and was constituted as the District of Koraput'. This brief history of Nandapura will give a clear idea about its location and importance in the past.

Let us now see who this 'Vikrama' Nṛpa of the verse was. In the chronicle of Jeypore Raj family we find four kings having the name Vikrama, who ruled over the kingdom of Nandapura the second Vikrama who ruled from (1825-60) can not be taken as a contemporary of our author as the palmleaf manuscript of his works that I have examined are older than this period. So he must be the contemporary of the first Vikrama Deva who ruled from c. 1758-81, A.D. Thus he flourished in the middle of the 18th century A. D. This view is corroborated by other facts stated below.

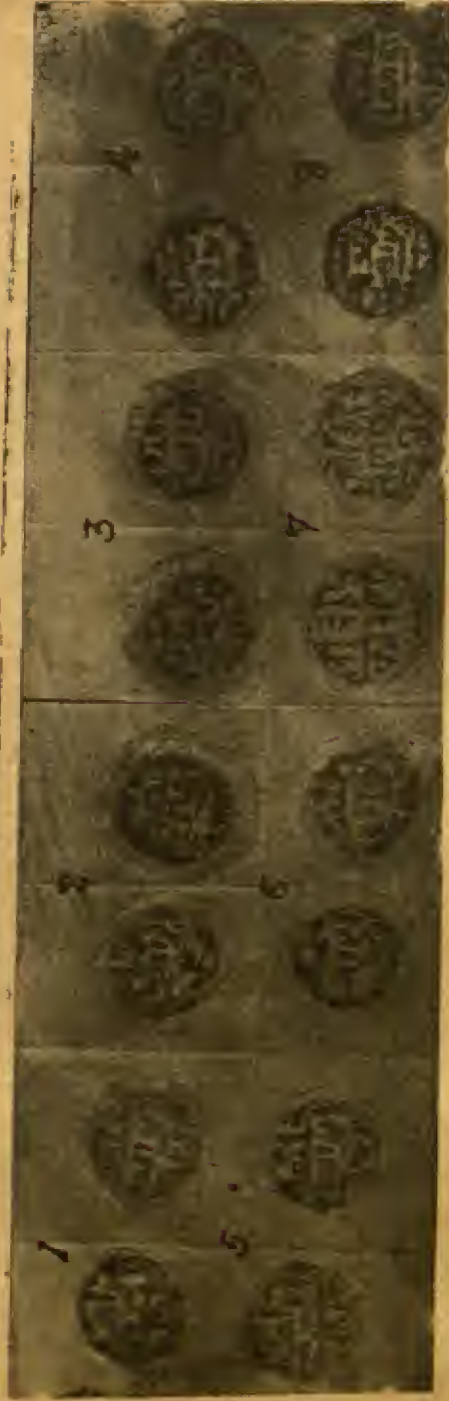
Yogī Praharāja must have been the author of a large number of works as he says that he was well-versed in medicine, music, art and astrology. His other work on medicine called 'Vaidyālaṅkara' has been noted by Sri Gode. But no manuscript of this work has yet been traced. His work on Smṛti called 'Samkshipta Smṛtidarpaṇa' has long been noticed. As the Archaeologist of the ex-State of Kalahandi, now a district of Orissa, I examined in 1941-45 a palmleaf manuscript of this work written in old Oriya characters. In the last chapter of this work the author had given a short history of the Raj family of Nandapura. But unfortunately I could not note down the relevant verses from the text at the time of its examination, for I could not then fully realise their importance.

During the last decade of the 19th century Mm. H.P. Sastri noticed a palmleaf manuscript of 'Smṛti Darpaṇa' while searching manuscripts in Orissa. He wrote about it as follows: "Smṛti Darpaṇa has been found in Orissa written by Yogī Praharāja, a scion of an influential family of Brahmins, who for many generations were the spiritual guides of the Rajas of Orissa. They wanted to have a standard Smṛti of their own and got this work written. The writer does not seem to be old as he followed Gadādhara".

-
3. Nandapur (A forsaken kingdom) Part I, by Kumar Vidyadhar Singh Deo, B.A., B.L., Jeypore.
 4. Orissa District Gazetteers, Koraput, By R. C. S. Bell, I.C.S.
 5. Report on the search of Sanskrit Manuscripts by Mm. H. P. Sastri (1895-1900) page 18.

Gadadhara was a famous Smṛti writer of Orissa. He wrote voluminous works on Smṛti collectively called Gadādhara Paddhati, during the reign of Hare Kṛṣṇa Deva, Raja of Khurdha (c 1715-20 A.D). It was divided into 18 parts called Kālasāra, Āchārasāra, Suddhisāra, Bratasāra, Dānasāra, etc. but the first two of his works have been publisseed. They are still regarded and followed as standard works on Smṛti in Orissa. As Mm. Shāstri says that Yogī Praharāja had quoted from the works of Gadādhara he must have flourished in the middle of the 18th century A.D.

Thus Yogī Praharāja Mahāpātra was an Oriya Brahmin author, who came of an illustrious family of scholars having Vatsa Gotra and adroned the court of Vikrama Deva (c 1758-81 A.D.) the Rajā of the Nandapura kingdom in Orissa.



A. Copper coins of Sultans of Jaunpur.

I Ibrahim Shah
No. 1 of A. H. 824.
No. 5 of A. H. 842.

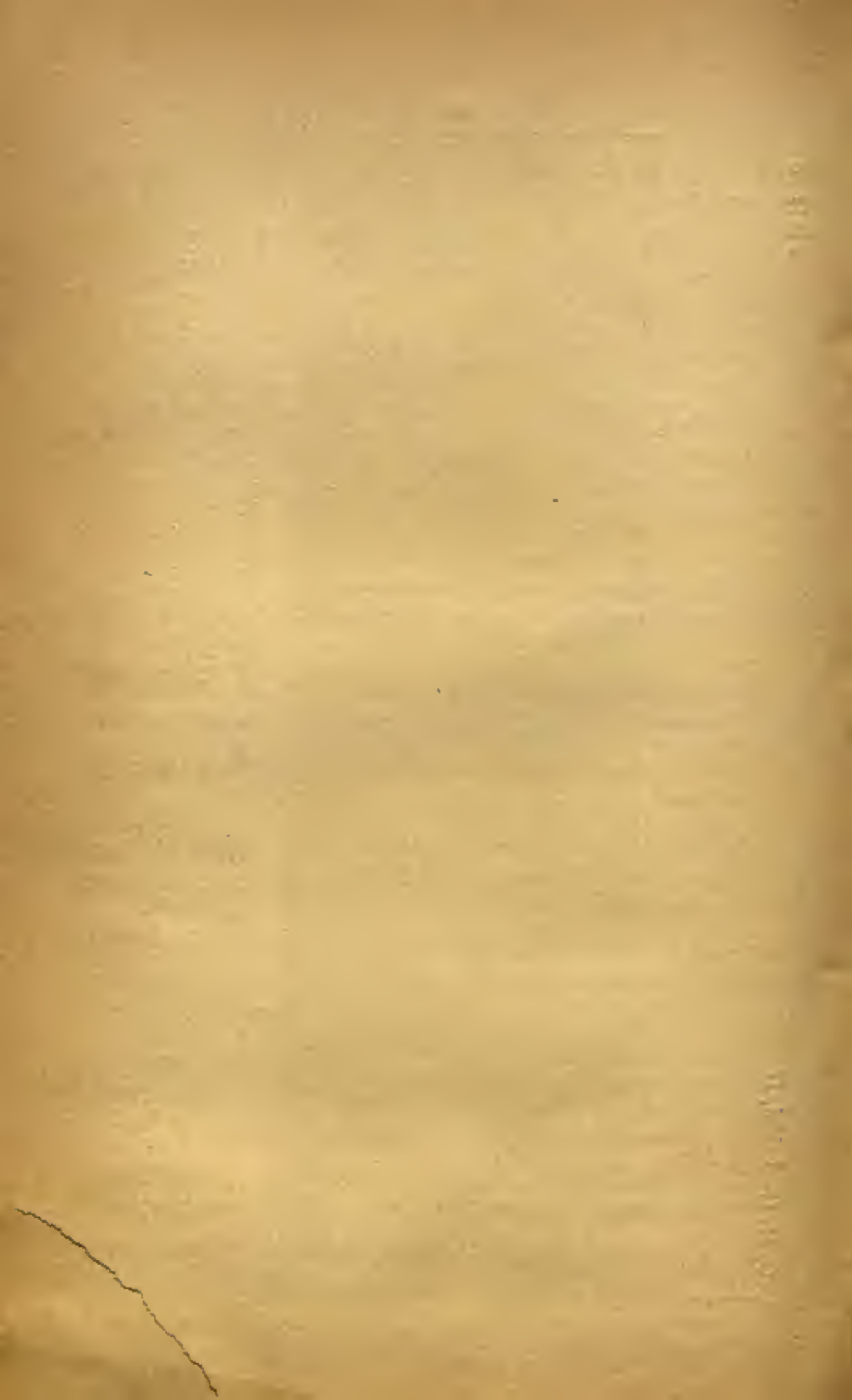
II Mahmud Shah
No. 2 of A. H. 844
No. 6 of A. H. 861

III Mahmud Shah
No 3. of A. H.

VI Hussain Shah
861 No 4 A. H. 862
No 8 A. H. 88X

B. Copper Coins of Champaran Kings.

7. Madanadeva.



FIND OF A HOARD OF COPPER COINS OF THE JAUNPUR SULTANS IN ORISSA.

By S. C. De
See Plate. 16

A hoard of 72 copper coins was discovered in 1930 at Deogarh, the head-quarters of the Bamra Sub-Division of the Sambalpur District of Orissa, by a person while he was digging the foundation of his house. Sri Padma Charan Biswal, who accidentally came in possession of the hoard, made it over to me for decipherment and publication.

The hoard consists of 71 copper coins of the Jaunpur Sultans and one of Madanadeva of Champaran.

These coins are not new in the field of Indian numismatics; but they constitute a significant find for Orissa. Its bearing on the History of Orissa has been discussed at length below.

Of the 71 copper coins of the Jaunpur Sultans, 12 belong to Ibrahim Shah (1400-1440 A.D.), 33 to Mahmud Shah (1840-1856 A.D.), 4 to Muhammad Shah and 22 to Husen Shah. The coins in the hoard are of the same variety as nos. 8, 57, 75, 101 in Volume II of the *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum* (Pl. VIII), and nos. 102, 103, 104, 115, in Mr. Valentine's book entitled '*Copper Coins of India*' (Part I, pp. 104-105).

As the coins are not accurately circular in shape their exact diametres can not be found out. The average diametre in case of the coins with some what circular shape is 1.5. c.m. Their weights vary between 68.5 to 75 grains.

The earliest and the latest limits of the reigns of the four Sultans of Jaunpur as ascertained from the sure dates of the coins under discussion are as follows.

- | | | |
|------------------|-----------------------|----------------------|
| 1. Ibrahim Shah | A. H. 824 (1421 A.D.) | A.H. 842 (1438 A.D.) |
| 2. Mahmud Shah | A.H. 844 (1440 A.D.) | A.H. 861 (1456 A.D.) |
| 3. Muhammad Shah | A. H. 861 (1456 A.D.) | A.H. 862 (1457 A.D.) |
| 4. Husen Shah | A. H. 862 (1457 A.D.) | A.H. 880 (1475 A.D.) |

There is however one coin of Mahmud Shah in the hoard, the date of which we have tentatively deciphered as 862 A.H. (see plate). If the reading be correct, it will add one more year to the last date of Mahmud Shah's reign as ascertained from the coins. So far, no coin of Mahmud Shah bearing a date latter than A.H. 861 has been found¹. Of course, this excludes one coin bearing the date A.H. 865 which Wright explains as a posthumous issue².

The date on one coin of Husen Shah has been tentatively deciphered as A.H. 888. The first two figures are clear, the last one is doubtful (see plate). If the date be correct, the coin will be taken to have been issued when he was no longer the Sultan of Jaunpur which was conquered by Bah'ol Lodi in the year A.H. 879 (1474 A.D.) and finally by Sikander Lodi in A.H. 881 (1476 A.D.), whereafter, Husain took refuge with the sultan of Bengal³.

The diametre of the other lone coin of Champaran is 1.7 centimetre and it is 79 grains in weight. It is of the same type as those of the Indian Museum mentioned by Smith in the *Catalogue of Coins in Indian Museum*, vol. I., p. 293 and by Mr. Valentino in his book *'The Copper Coins of India'*, P. 67.

The legends on the obverse and reverse noted are below :—

OBVERSE

(1.i) Śī (Śrī) Cham(pa) (1.ii) Kāraṇ(y)a

REVERSE

(1.i) Gobinda cha, (1.ii) ra ṇa praṇa, (1.iii) ta mada(na)

This hoard constitutes the first find of Jaunpur coins in Orissa.* We have references to conquest of Orissa by the Jaunpur Sultans in some Muslim Histories. The first ruler of the Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur is said to have extended his sway as far as the territory of Kol to the south; and, on the east, as far as Bihar; and compelled the rulers of Lakhanawati and Jajnagar to pay him tribute⁴. According to Al-Badaoni, Sultan-ush-Sharq, the founder of Sharqi dynasty of Jaunpur, "proceeded as far as

1. Wright, *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum* Vol. II, p. 207

2. Ibid.

3. Briggs, *History of the rise of Mahomedan power in India*, Vol. IV, pp. 377

*As single copper coin of Hussain Shah was found at Khiching and it is preserved at Baripada Museum.

4. *Tabaqat-i-Nasiri*, translated by H. G. Raverty, p. 589, foot-note,

Jajnaagar and took possession of it, acquiring a large number of elephants and much valuable property.” According to Nizamuddin, “the Ray of Jajnaagar and the Bid-shah of Lakhnauti sent to him presents and tribute which they had every year sent to Sultan Firoz Shah.”⁶ Ferishta does not make any mention about conquest of Orissa by Khwajah-i-Jahan (Sultan-ush-Sharq),

Mahmud Shah (1440-56), the fourth ruler of the dynasty, was an ambitious and powerful ruler. He is said to have led an expedition against the rulers of Kalpi, Chunar, Orissa and Delhi⁷. In *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, it is stated that Mahmud “advanced into the country of Orissa, with the object of Jihād (war of religion) and the intention of becoming a Ghazi; and having plundered and devastated that country and pulled down and destroyed idols, temples, returned with triumph and victory and in the year 862 A. H. (.458 A.D.) he was united with the divine mercy”⁸. According to Ferishta, Mahmud Shah proceeded from Chunar about the year A. H. 848 to Orissa which he also reduced; and having destroyed the temples and collected large sums of money, returned to Joonpoor”⁹.

The fifth Sultan, Husen Shah, is also credited with conquest of Orissa. His expedition to Orissa is described in the *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* in the following way :

“As the huma (a fabulous bird) of his noble spirit had the ambition of conquering various countries in its head, he collected three hundred thousand horsemen and fourteen hundred elephants, and advanced towards the country of Orissa. In the course of the march he subjected the country of Tirhut to various calamities; and levied tribute from the refractory people of that country and its environs. When he arrived in the country of Orissa, he sent detachments for plundering and ravaging the various parts of the country. The Ray of Orissa, in great distress and helplessness, made his submission, and sending an agent to wait on the Sultan prayed for the pardon of his fault and offences; and sent thirty elephants and one hundred horses and much staff and other goods in the way of tribute. Sultan Husain returned from that country to Jaunpur crowned with victory and triumph”¹⁰.

5. *Muntakhabu-t-tawarikh*, translated by Ranking, Vol. I. pp. 348-49.

6. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Edited by B. De, Vol. I, p. 273. and (ii) Ishwari Prasad, *History of Muslim rule in India*, p-173.

7. Wright, *op. cit.*, p. 277

8. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, p. 453.

9. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 369,

10. *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, Vol. III, pp. 459-60.

According to Ferishta, Husen Shah marched to Orissa shortly after his accession. "On reaching that province he caused his troops to disperse in detachments, in order to lay waste the country. The Ray of Orissa, unable to oppose the sudden inroad, and perceived no remedy but submission; and in order to conciliate the invader, the Ray sent thirty elephants, and a hundred horses and various articles, including silken and other clothes; with Hoossein Shah being satisfied he returned to Joonpur."¹¹

We had, so far, no positive, or even, corroborative evidence in support of the facts stated above. The present find of coins provides such a corroborative evidence, and herein lies its historical significance so far as the History of Orissa is concerned.]

Malik-ush-Sharq (1393-99) was contemporary of Narasimha Deva IV (1378-1414 A. D.) of Orissa. Excepting for a stray reference to invasion of Orissa by the first Sultan of Jaunpur in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari*, already cited above, there is no positive evidence to prove that statement. Firishta's silence over the matter makes the statement all the more doubtful.

Mahmud Shah's invasion of Orissa took place about the year A. H. 814 (1448 A. D.), while his son Husen Shah led expedition to Orissa about the year 863-64 A. H. (1458-59 A. D.) For Mahmud's invasion we have no other evidence excepting the statements of the Muslim historians. But statements relating to Husen Shah's invasion of Orissa is partly substantiated by the find of hoard of coins under discussion.

Both the expeditions took during the reign of Gajapati Kapilendra Deva (1435-1470 A. D.), the most powerful king of Orissa, whose kingdom stretched from the Ganges in the north to the Caverry in the south. In the Gopinathpur inscription he is said to have conquered Karnāṭa and Kalavarga (Kulbarga), destroyed Mālava, crushed Gauḍa and destroyed the pride of the Delhi king (v-6), the Gurjara king gave up his pride, the Delhi king felt dejected and the Gauḍa king turned mean like a savara.¹² He assumed the proud titles of 'Gajapati-gauḍeśavara-navakoṭi-karṇāṭa-kalavargeśvara' which we find in most of his inscriptions. He had wrested the south-western part of Bengal from the Sultan of Bengal. The whole of Carnatic region was under his sway. That he invaded the Bahmani kingdom and

11. Briggs, *op. cit.*, p. 375.

12. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXIX (1900), pp. 175-70.

almost reached its capital is admitted by Firistah and the author of *Burhan-i-Maasir*¹³. So, Kapilendra assumed those titles with full justification. To think of invasion of his kingdom by two of the Sharqi Sultans and the timid submission of one of the most formidable powers of South India without striking even a blow is almost absurd.

But, all the same, we can not dismiss the assertions of the Muslim historians about invasion of Orissa by Husen Shah. So the apparently conflicting facts have to be reconciled.

According to both Firishtah and Nizamuddin, the Ray of Orissa made his submission by sending 30 elephants, 100 horses and other goods by way of tribute. Husen Shah came back satisfied. The statement is hardly worthy of credit, if Kapilendra Deva is taken as Ray of Orissa.

In *Burhan-i-Maasir*, Kapilendra Deva is said to have possessed two hundred thousand war-elephants.¹⁴ It is almost absurd to think that such a king would make his submission by sending 30 elephants only, and that Husen Shah, whose sole object in invading Orissa was apparently to secure war-elephants for his army, would feel satisfied with that petty number. Obviously, the Ray of Orissa referred to is only a small chieftain, probably of Bamra, in whose capital the hoard was found.

Being caught unaware by the Muslim invader, the then Chief of Bamra, whose identity is not yet known, had to make his submission by sending 30 elephants and a hundred horses. Since Bamra was included in Orissa and its Chief was one of the Sāmanta of the Gajapati king of Orissa, the Muslim historians credited Husen Shah with conquest of Orissa by a mere raid on its northern border.

It is stated in *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* that Husen Shah started for Tirhut from Jaunpur. After subjecting Tirhut and the surrounding countries to various calamities, he invaded Orissa. So, it is clear that he came from the north and advanced towards Bamra through Gangpur and Bonai. The Chief of Bamra was probably caught unprepared, otherwise he could secure the help of Kapilendra Deva to ward off the invader. This is borne out from Feristah's account quoted. This presumption can only compromise the apparently conflicting facts.

13. Banerji, *History of Orissa*, Vol-I, p. 296.

14. *J.A.B.S.*, Vol. VIII, No. 1, (1942), pp. 58-59.

As for Mahmud Shah's invasson, we have no direct evidence to support the claims of the Muslims historians. Since Orissa was famous for elephants which were greatly valued in those days as constituting very potential part of an army, most of the Muslim invaders of the 14th & 15th century turned to Orissa for securing some elephants for their armies. Mahmud Shah, who cherished the ambition of conquering Delhi, might have come to Orissa for securing elephants to strengthen his army. If he came, his activities, like Husen's, were confined to the hilly regions of the northwest frontier of Orissa.

If our assumption that Husen Shah came to Orissa as far as Deogarh be correct, it has necessarily to be presumed that the land-route to Orissa from northern India passed through that place. When Firuz Shah invaded Orissa in 1360, he came to Tirhut via Jaunpur. From that place he proceeded towards Orissa crossing Manbhum and at last burst upon Cuttack.¹⁴ Husen Shah does not seem to have followed the same route. From Jaunpur he came to Tirhut in north Bihar. From there he probably crossed south Bihar, Chotanagpur and entered the kingdom of Orissa from the north. The route can be roughly traced out with the help of Rennell's map¹⁵ of 1778. Husen Shah probably came to Patna from Tirhut, from there, he came to Chittra in Ramgarh via Gaya and Sheergotty (Saeerghati). Then he entered Chota Nagpur, and from there, he entered Orissa along the road connecting Simalpur via Gangpur. Crossing Gangpur and Bonai in the Sañkha valley he entered Bamra.

Lastly, we have to account for the presence of the coin of Madana Sinha of Champaran. As noted above, Husen Shah came to Orissa from Tirhut; this explains the presence of a coin of the King of Champaran among the Jaunpur coins.

Smith reads the legend on the obverse side as 'Govinda charana prajava (ya) Madana'.¹⁶ Our reading, as given above, is, 'Govinda charana prajata Madana'.

As regards the identify of Madana Deva, he was the king of western Tirhut region comprising Gorakhpur and Champaran areas, and he ruled from 1453-54 to 1457-58 A. D. Prof. C. Bendall gives the following list of the kings of that time.

- | | |
|-----------------------|--|
| 1. Prithvi Sinha Deva | 1434-35 A. D. |
| 2. Sakti Sinha | |
| 3. Madana (Sinha Deva | 1453-54 ... 1457-58 A.D. ¹⁷ |

15. Rennel, *Bengal Atlas*, map No. 1X: Will's British relation with Nagpur State in the 18th century *vide* map.

16. *Catalogue of coins in the Indian Museum*, Vol-I p, 293

17. *J.A.S.B.*, Vol. LXXII (1903), p. 30.

Appendix IX

Details of the Jaunpur coins discovered in Orissa

No.	Date	Wt. in grains	Obverse	Reverse
1.	824	72	Ibrahim Shah Sultani	Khalifa-abu-al fath
2.	831	69.5	"	"
3.	83 (5?)	"	"	"
4.	83X	"	"	"
5.	83X	70	"	"
6.	83X	72	"	"
7.	833	73	"	"
8.	842	70	"	"
9.	8 2	72	"	"
10.	842	71.5	"	"
11.	XXX	69.5	"	"
12.	8XX	68.5	"	"
13.	844	72	Mahmud Shah	"
14.	844	70	Ibrahim Shah	"
15.	847	73	Sultani	"
16.	847	70	"	"
17.	847	73	"	"
18.	84X	72	"	"
19.	8 8	72	"	"
20.	8XX	71	"	"
21.	8 X	73	"	"
22.	850	72	"	"
23.	85X	73	"	"
24.	852	73	"	"
25.	853	74	"	"
26.	853	75	"	"
27.	85(4?)	74	"	"
28.	85(71)	75	"	"
29.	857	74	"	"
30.	858	73	"	"
31.	(8)58	74	"	"
32.	85X	71.5	"	"
33.	861	75	"	"
34.	86X	3	"	"

35.	XXX	73	Husen Shah	Khalif-abu-al
			MahmudShah	fath
			Ibrahim Shah	Sultani
36.	XXX	73	"	"
37.	86X	73	"	"
38.	8XX	71	"	"
39.	XXX	70	"	"
40.	XXX	71	"	"
41.	XXX	72.5	"	"
42.	86(2?)	71	"	"
43.	860	73	"	"
44.	86X	74	Muhammed Shah	"
45.	86(0?)	7	Mahmud Shah	"
46.	861	73	Ibrahim Shah Sultani	"
47.	862	73	"	"
48.	86(2?)	72	"	"
49.	86X	72	"	"
			Husen Shah	
			Mahmud Shah	
50.	862	75	Ibrahim Shah Sultani	"
51.	812	72	"	"
52.	862	75	"	"
53.	X63	74	"	"
54.	89(5?)	73.5	"	"
55.	"	"	"	"
56.	86 7)	73	"	"
57.	867	73	"	"
58.	"	"	"	"
59.	86X	75	"	"
60.	6.X	70	"	"
61.	867	74	"	"
62.	86(8?)	70	"	"
63.	868	72	"	"
64.	869	73	"	"
65.	88X	73	"	"
66.	8XX	73	"	"
67.	88(8?)	75	"	"
68.	XXX	75	"	"
69.	XXX	73	"	"
70.	XXX	72	"	"
71.	XXX	73.5	"	"

Appendix II

NOTES

ON THE GURJHAT STATE OF PATNA

By

Major H. B. Impey

Deputy Commissioner of Sumbulpore

Dated/Camp. Deogaon, Illaquh Jhorasinga, Patna

29th, May, 1863.

-ditorial Note

By the Government Resolution of 2nd November 1861 Central Provinces were formed into a separate administrative unit under a Chief Commissioner which included the Province of Nagpur and its dependencies and in it were included the Sagar and Narbada territories from the North-Western Provinces. By the Government Resolution of the 30th April 1862, Sambalpur and its dependencies were added thereto which were before that date under the administration of the Commissioner of Orissa in the Presidency of Bengal.

Soon after the amalgamation of the Sambalpur area with the Central Provinces Major H. B. Impey was appointed as the Deputy Commissioner of Sambalpur. He prepared the *Notes on the Gurjhat State of Patna on the 29th May 1863* which gives full information on the formation of the Atharagada or 18 Garhs of Sambalpur which was locally available in 1863. For the historical value the 'Notes' are printed below.

The manuscript of the Notes are preserved in the Record Room of the Collector of the Sambalpur District and the text below is a copy of that report.

In this connection the following note will be of interest to the readers. Sambalpur and its dependencies came under the British possession in 1818 by the cession of the Raja of Nagpur and the whole area was put under the administration of the Political Agency of the South-West Frontier and Sambalpur of the Government of Bengal with the headquarters at Ramgarh which was subsequently transferred to Ranchi in Chotanagpur. By the Regulation XIII of 1833 a Governor General's Agent S. W. Fronteir was appointed. At that time Sambalpur and its dependencies comprised the following 18 States namely : 1. Sambalpur, 2. Patna, 3. Sonapur, 4. Baud, 5. Athmallik, 6. Rerakhhol, 7. Bamra, 8. Bonai, 9. Gangpur, 10. Sakti, 11. Raigarh, 12. Bargarh, 13. Chandrapur, 14. Borasambar, 15. Sarangarh, 16. Phuljhar, 17. Khariar and 18. BendraNawagarh. In 1833 the Chief of Bargarh rebelled and in consequence, Bargarh was confiscated and added to the State of Raigarh. In 1837 the management of Baud and Athmallik was transferred from the Agent to the Governor General S. W. Fronteer to that of the Commissioner and the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals of Orissa. In 1849 the State of Sambalpur was lapsed to the British Government and was made a District. In January 1861 excluding the States of Gangpur and Bonai the management of the 14 States of the Sambalpur area including Sambalpur was transferred to the Commissioner and the Superintendent of Tributary Mahals of Orissa. Thus it is found that at the time of transfer of the administration of the Sambalpur area in 1862, only 4 States namely Baud, Athmallik, Bonai and Gangpur remained under Bengal and the rest of 12 States and the District of Sambalpur were included in the area of the Central Provinces.

According to the recommendation made by Sir Richard Temple, the then Chief Commissioner of Central Provinces in his "*Report on the Zamindaris and other petty Chieftaincies in the Central Provinces in 1863*" the States of 1. Chandrapur, 2. Borasambar, 3. Phuljhar, 4. Khariar and 5. Bendranawagarh were declared as Zamindaris in the District of Sambalpur and the 7 States namely 1. Patna, 2. Sonpur, 3. Rerakhhol, 4. Bamra, 5. Sakti and 6. Sarangarh 7. Raigarhcum Bargarh were declared the Feudatory States by the Government.

At the time of transfer of the administration in 1905, the District of Sambalpur and the 4 States namely Patna, Sonpur, Rairakhhol and Bamra belonging to the former 18 garhs of Sambalpur including the States of Kalahandi were transferred from the Central Provinces to Orissa of West Bengal and at that time also the administration of Bonai and Gangpur of the Chotanagpur Division were transferred to the Orissa Division. In 1936 Khariar was added to the Province of Orissa and thus out of the 18 garhs of old Sambalpur States : 1. Sakti, 2. Raigarh-cumBargarh 3. Sarangarh, were included under the Eastern State Agency and Chandrapur, Phuljhar and Bendra-Nawagarh remained in the Raipur District of Central Provinces.

Mr. C. U. Wills devoted a chapter (ch. VI.) on the Sambalpur Atharagarh in his paper entitled. "*The Rajput Kingdoms of medieval Chhattisgarh*" published in the *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1919 pp. 218—227 and in it he referred to this Report on Atharagarh of 1863 by Impey.—Chief Editor.

Notes on the Gurjhat State of Patna By Major H. B. Impey,

The following sketch of the history of the Gurjhat States of Patna is founded upon the records, genealogical trees (Appendix No. 1) and traditions maintained by successive Rajahs. Although there may be errors in the calculation of periods, and mistakes in the incidence of events, yet considering how all Natives of pretension or position strive to keep up a remembrance of their ancestors through the services of Brahmins, and how strictly they themselves cherish the links of private history (as instance the custom of the Hindoos to religiously pronounce the names of three preceding generations while engaged in their ablutions), it may be assumed that such records and links, when adjusted by other circumstantial data, as in this case, will generally form a pretty correct chain of evidence in respect to main facts.

2. Origin of the Muharajahs :—The Muharajahs of Patna claim direct descent from a race of Rajpoot¹ Rajahs of Gurh Sumbul² near Mynpooree² and count back the individuals of this race for 32 generations.

3. Foundation of one State, Patna from a cluster of 8 "gurhs" :—It is narrated that these Rajahs used to be in constant attendance at the court of Dilhee³ till the last, named Hutumbur Sing, having intrigued and run off with one of the daughters, was pursued and killed and his family forced to fly.

1. Patna. Amongst the wives of this Rajah was one who escaping arrived enceinte, in Patna, and found refuge with the chief of Kholagurh⁵, being one of 8 gurhs, as marginally noted which at that time alone formed the territories of Patna, being comprised within the three rivers, Ung⁶, Mahanuddy⁷ and Tel and bounded on the west by Khurriar⁸ (a possession then of Jeypoor) and Bindanawagurh⁹; and the chiefs of which took it in turns, a day at a time to exercise full authority, as Rajah over the whole. She was placed in charge of the said Chief's Brahmin at Ramoor¹⁰, and there gave birth to a boy, named Ramaee¹¹ Deo. The Chief adopted the boy and subsequently on his coming of age, himself being sick and weary of rule, resigned his position to him. Ramaee Deo soon after this succeeded in murdering the other seven Chiefs, and usurping to himself the whole and permanent authority in Patna. Finally he married a daughter of the ruler of Orissa through whose influence and power he was enabled to maintain his usurped position.

1. Rajput. 2. Gurh Sambar. 3. Mainpuri. 4. Delhi. 5. Kolagarh. 6. Ang. 7. Mahanadi. 8. Kharan. 9. Bendra Nawagarh. 10. Ramur. 11. Ramal.

4. Extension of territory and dominion to the right bank of the Mahanuddy :—It would appear during the time of Ramaee Deo and the two succeeding Maharajahs that the territories and dominion of Patna became extended beyond the Ung River to the right bank of the Mahanuddy; embracing—

1st.—Patna Proper, as now, but with the addition, to the west of 3 gurhs, viz., Kholagurb, Goorhagurb¹, and Koomnagurb,² at present included in the Gurjhat³ State of Kburriar, and of 12 villages known then as “Baragam” afterwards as “Borasambur”⁴ and subsequently detached as portion of the Gurjhat State of that name, and to the east, in continuation between the rivers Ung and Tel to the Mahanuddy.

2nd.—As annexed to Patna Proper, all the land embraced within the Ung and Mahanuddy rivers, and bounded on the west by Phooljhur⁵ and Sarungur⁶, which now comprises the southern portion of Sambulpore⁷ and parts of Sonepore⁸.

3rd.) As tributary dependencies, the Gond Gurjhat States Bindanawagarh.
4th.) — Phooljur and Sarungurh.
5th.)

5. The lands and estates lying contiguous to the left bank of the Mahanuddy were, it is believed, at that time attached to Surgooja⁹, with the exception of the north-western portion of the present Sumbulpore district, known as Chundurpore¹⁰ and Bhortia¹¹, which belonged to Ruttunpoor.¹²

6. Subjugation of States and Acquisition of Territory on Left Bank of Mahanuddy :—The fourth Maharajah, Pirtheo Sing¹³ Deo subjugated and made tributary to Patna, the three dependencies of Sirgooja, named Baraee¹⁴, Gangpoor¹⁵, and Bamra, and annexed to Patna itself by dispossession from the Rajah of Bamra, the Zemindaree¹⁶ of Rehracole¹⁷ and so much of the lands (now) of Sumbulpore on the left bank of the Mahanuddy, as were contained between Rehracole and Bamra to the east, Bamra and Gangpoor to the north, and to the west, by the river Eebe¹⁸ to its sudden bend westward and from thence by a line running south, to the spot at the extremity of the present city of Sumbulpore where now the jail bridge stands.

7. Erection of a Fort in Phooljhur :—Maharajah Bikrumadit¹⁹ Deo, the ninth Rajah of Patna, erected a fort in Phooljhur at Seespalgarh²⁰, where its remains are said to be still traceable—a proof of the unflinching authority then exercised over the Gurjhat States.

8. Acquisition of the Gurh of Chundurpoor :—It is probable that the erection of this advanced post in a tributary State had, for its aim, as much the extension of dominion, as the maintenance, in security, of existing dominancy; for no sooner did the next ruler, Maharajah Baijul Deo²¹ (2nd), succeed to the Guddee²², then he advanced to Chunderpoor and forcibly dispossessed the Ruler of Ruttunpoor of that “Gurh” with its surrounding lands.

1. Gurhagarh 2. Kemnagarh 3. Garhjat 4. Barasambar 5. Phooljhar 6. Sarangarh
7. Sambalpur 8. Sonpur. 9. Surguja 10. Chandrapur. 11. Not known 12. Ratanpur.
13. Pruthari Sinha 14. Bonai 15. Gangpur 16. Zamindari 17. Rehrakhol 18. Ib.
19. Birebikrama ditya 20. Sivaupalgarh 21. Bhijab Deo 22. Gadi.

9. There still remained, to complete the circle known afterwards as the "18 Gurhs"; 1st—the three Northern Gurjhat States of Raigarh¹ and Suktee² (dependencies of Sirgooja), 2ndly—the central tract of land (now an integral portion of the Sumbulpore district) falling between the Eebe and the line drawn therefrom, as before observed, to the present Sumbulpore Jail Bridge, and the Gurjhat State of Sarungurh (also belonging to Surgooja); and lastly the two eastern Gurjhat States of Boud³ and Atmullick.⁴

10. It never fell to the lot of Patna itself to include these remaining States and lands within the scope of its authority or possession. The completion of the circle was not effected till Patna had retired from the banks of the Mahanuddy, so far as the mouth of the Ung river near Binka, and a new State had sprung up under its auspices (on the north of the Ung) afterwards known as Sumbulpore⁵. It might therefore seem foreign to the object of these "Notes" as touching Patna to speak of the rise and power of this second State. Nevertheless the advance of the latter was so intimately connected with, and so immediately the result of, the dominion of the former and against the decline of the former so direct an issue of the rise of the latter, that it is necessary to trace the history of the extension of power across the Mahanuddy in so far as the grouping of the once known 18 "Gurhs" shall be concerned.

11. Relinquishment by Patna of Territory and Dominion on the Left Bank of the Ung River. Creation of New State of Chowunpoor,⁶ Subjugation of other states dependencies of Sirgooja and Acquisition of further territory—erection of Fort of Sumbulpore and foundation of Sumbulpore State in lieu of Chowunpoor:—Nursing⁷ Deo, the 12th Maharajah of Patna, and his brother Bulram⁸ Deo quarrelling, the former made over absolutely to the latter (probably on compulsion) all such portions of his territories as lay north of the river Ung the engagement between the two brothers being, that each was to be perfectly independent of the other. Bulram Deo taking possession of his allotment erected a fort on the right bank of the Mahanuddy exactly opposite the present city of Sumbulpore, at Chowunpoor (where to this day the traces of his fort are visible) and adopted the title of Rajah of Chowunpoor. Shortly after this he dispossessed Sirgooja of the dependencies of Suktee, Raigurh, and Burgurh and of the remaining portion, as before noticed, of Sumbulpore and finally included Boud and Atmullick (now Gurjhat State of Cuttack) amongst the number of his tributary Muhals. After this he abandoned the fort of Chowunpoor, and crossing the river erected a new fort on the opposite bank. To this he gave the name of Sumbulpore from the number of Seemul trees that existed then on its site. Then changing his own title to that of Maharajah of Sumbulpore, he founded a dominion which soon took the real ascendancy over the parent State of Patna.

12. The two States of Patna and Sumbulpore were now distinct, and the area of the "18 Gurhs" was now fully embraced: But as yet this number of Gurjhat States with independent Chiefs, tributary to the two paramount rulers of Patna and Sumbulpore, were not fully formed.

13. Enumeration of the 15 "Gurhs" of the Sumbulpore and Patna Group:—The then existing Tributary Gurjhat States attached to Sumbulpore were Phooljur, Sarungurh, Suktee, Raigurh, Bunnaee, Gangpoor, Bamra, Boud.

1. Raigarh 2. Sakti 3. Boudh 4. Athmullick 5. Sambalpur 6. Chowanpur 7. Narasinha Deo 8. Bularam Deo.

Atmullick, and, by admission of the Sumbulpore Maharajah, Rehracole. To these may be added Chundurpore retained by the Maharajah under his own immediate authority. In Patna the only dependency was Bindanawagurh. The total therefore of the 18 "Gurhs" or Gurjhat States, during the time of Nursing Deo, and Balaram Deo, Muharajahs respectively of Sumbulpore and Patna was 15. Wanting to complete were Sonepore in the one case, and Khurriar and Borasambur in the other.

14. **Formation of the 8 Remaining Gurjhat States.** The necessity of providing for younger sons caused the alienation from the parent States of Sonapur and Khurriar. Thus Sonapore, as far as the left of the River Ung (the land on the right to the Tel river till, as before need belonging to Patna) its chief town being Binka, was constituted independent tributary Gurjhat State by the 4th Rajah of Sumbulpore, who made it over with the title of Rajah to his 2nd son Muddun-Gopaul¹. And again the 15th Maharajah of Patna giving over three "Gurhs" of the original 8 of Patna, viz., Kholagurh, Goorbagurh, and Koomragurh, to his younger son Gopaul Ray, and the latter obtaining Khurriar as a dowry on his marriage with a daughter of the Rajah of Jaipoor², those gurhs merged into Khurriar, and the whole now constituted one Gurjhat State with the title of Rajah.

15. The last created Gurjhat was Borasambur³, the present Chief of which owes his position to the cunning and power of an ancestor. Originally Borasambur consisted of eight villages, which went by the name of "Atgaon", and formed a small Zemindari part of the integral estate of Patna. It is stated that one of the Zamindars of "Atgaon" having saved the life of a Sambur deer by killing a "bora" or boa-constrictor, which had attacked it, the name of the Zemindari was changed to Borasambur. Notwithstanding the smallness originally of the area of the Zemindari, the proprietor was a man of some importance. He was Chief of his caste-men, Bhinjwal⁴; and, on the occasion of a new Maharajah being raised to the guddee it was his especial duty to take the latter on his lap and fold over his head the turban of State. Again the Zamindar held an important position. His lands were situated alone on the north side of the range of hills called Goondmardhum⁵ which form part of the northern boundary of Patna, and thus he could hold the approaches through those hills to Patna for or against any hostile forces. It would appear that during the first inroads of the Mahrattas the Zamindar of Borasambur was successful in guarding these approaches. For this service he was granted an extension of property on the Patna side. What the real grant was it is impossible now to say; but when the Maharajah of Patna, in A. D. 1818 was released from the captivity, in which he had been kept for 14 years by the Mahrattas, under orders of the British Government, and replaced in possession of his estates by Major Roughedge, it was found that the Zamindar had encroached upon a large tract of Patna territory, and it is said had possessed himself also of some 84 villages of the Phooljur Gurjhat. Complaint was made by the restored Maharajah of Patna, and he was forced to retire to his proper side of the hills, a gainer however so far that he retained the 84 villages of Phooljur and was allowed to hold possession of Borasambur with them in his own right from that time, as an independent tributary chieftain.

16. Completion of the 18 "Gurhs":—Thus then was completed the cluster of the 18 "Gurhs", as follows:—

- | | |
|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. Patna | 10. Bunnaee |
| 2. Sumbulpore | 11. Raigurh |
| 3. Sonepoor | 12. Burgurh |
| 4. Bamra | 13. Suktee |
| 5. Rehracole | 14. Chundurpoor |
| 6. Gangpoor | 15. Sarungurh |
| 7. Boud | 16. Bindanawagurh |
| 8. Atmullick | 17. Khurriar |
| 9. Ptooljur | 18. Borasambur |

17. Loss to Patna of the land on the Right Bank of the Mahanaddy between the Ung and Tel Rivers :—Before proceeding to notice the ultimate severance and distribution of these States, it is necessary to refer back briefly to the time of Ram Sing Deo, the 21st Muharajah of Patna. This chieftain, having recovered possession of his Guddeo from one usurping uncle, after a reign of nearly 60 years, and at the age of 80, was ultimately forced, on a general insurrection, to flee his country. He sought refuge at Binka, the seat of the Rajah of Sonepoor; and fearful of pursuit or treachery promised the latter a grant of that portion of his estate which fell between the Ung and Tel, if he would protect and assist him. The Rajah of Sonepoor was not slow to take advantage of the offer. The son secured to himself the possession of the promised land; but assistance was confined to personal protection. The aged Muharajah 3 years after died a refugee in Sonepoor, without blow being struck for his restoration. This insurrection caused the loss to Patna of the last relic of its early acquisition.

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18. Gurjhat States brought under Direct Supervision of the British Government :—The incursions and depredations of the Mahrattas had now caused the intervention of the British Government for the protection of the Gurjhat States. This ultimately resulted (in 1821) after that Boud and Atmullick had been transferred to Cuttack, in the rest being separately disconnected and placed under the immediate control and supervision of British agency.

19. In 1861 the States of Bonai and Gangpoor were transferred to Rancee¹; and thus the circle of Gurjhat States become reduced to those exhibited in the annexed Schedule—(Appendix No. 2.)

20. Summary :—To sum up, reverting to Patna. It will be observed that, between the time of its foundation by Ramaee Deo and the reign of its 12th Muharajah, or say, during a period of 340 years, Patna had grown, from a comparatively small State of 8 united gurhs, held by chiefs who each in turn for a day aped supreme authority over the rest to a powerful Province extending in territory and dominion for miles across the Mahanaddy to the confines of Sarungurh, and on the left bank from the borders of Atmullick to a line drawn northward from the west end of the (present) city of Sumbulpore falling in with the river Eebe, to Gangpoor, and its authority—embracing the Gurjhat States, surrounding these possessions, of Bindanawagarh, Ptooljur, Sarungurh, Gangpoor, Bunnaee and Bamra; that by the abandonment of all its property and dominion on the North or left side of the Ung river, it relapsed to the area

of its original 8 gurhs, including the plate between the Tel and Ung rivers, and to the authority over the one Gurhat State of Bindanawagurh. That subsequently at first alienated 3 of its original gurhs and afterwards had to relinquish 12 of its most important villages, in return for all which, with additional lands from other quarters, it obtained control over two newly created Gurhat States, viz., Kharriar and Borasambur. That previously to the last noted relinquishment it had lost the tract of land between the Tel and Ung rivers; and that, lastly being brought itself under the direct control of the British, it became deprived of the last vestige of its power, the control of its 3 tributary States (Bindanawagurh, Kurriar and Borasambur) and thus finally fell into a smaller circle of power and property than that which it embraced when, some 600 years before (dating from the usurpation of Ramace Deo) it had first sprung into powerful existence.

21. Such then is the history of the extension and contraction of the territories and dominions of Patna. Like as its first sacrifice of ground, and of prospect of further advancement, was owing to family dissension, so also was the final loss of the last tract of its former acquisitions caused by family dissensions. In the one instance however it was left with the substances of conquest, and the opportunities, from arrested ambition of employing such to the development of its own reserved dominions; but in the other it was brought ultimately to entire ruin. A glance at the present features of the country of Patna, and a brief review of the dissensions that occurred during the time of Ram Sing Deo, and of their results, will serve to explain these last assertions.

22. Description of the present area of Patna :—It is calculated that the present territories of Patna contain 5,000 square miles although they are dotted, at distant intervals, with a few small hills, yet it may be stated that they compose a plateau of undulating surface, so peculiarly favourable for the cultivation of rice, the pulses, oilseeds, and sugarcane. There are certainly, besides the few scattered hills, interruptions also of gravelly or rocky rises covered with jungle and a few forest trees. But making allowance for the deduction of these from the general area, there remains a vast expanse of culturable lands the soil of which is of a good description.

23. Present condition of the area: and indications of past prosperity :—Tracts or scrubby jungles have usurped the sites of former fields, and wild beasts now hold domain where once stood the habitations of men. The gurh of Patna is now the centre of such a jungle, radiating 10 coss, or say 20 miles in every direction. Close around the "Gurh", at distances varying from one to two miles, are about 10 tanks; and in the surrounding jungle beyond these, at intervals of four or six miles are said to be the remains of other tanks, with traces of villages, marked, not only by the general certain evidence of planted trees, such as the mango, but also by the unmistakeable proof of old broken tiles, and brick foundations of houses and temples. Nor is it alone, immediately around the "Gurh" of Patna, that signs of former welfare and former energetic rule are to be found. Turning to the southern portion of the State, in the Kondhan Zemindaries of Torva¹ & Tops, at Jhoorwal² in Torva, at Titoola³ and Odeypoori⁴ in Tops, are numerous ruins of solid buildings, of from one three stories high, and generally through the Kondhan lands are the walls of neglected temples at distance of two or four miles apart. Moreover to prove in some measure the earnestness which formerly existed for developing the country and the respect which is still held for the race of its once energetic rulers, it is to be

1. Terbha, 2. Jharial. 3. Tillagarh. 4. Udaypur

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remarked that the Kondhs of the oldest Kondh settlement at Sainjala, claim to have been brought to Patna from Jeypoor by Rumaee Deo, and pride themselves in being still loyal and Khalsa subjects of his descendants. Further indication of decayed prosperity and past enterprise might be adduced, and not least this, the innate respectability and intelligence of some of the Zemindars and Gauntias¹ of old families; but enough, perhaps, has been noticed to prove that there is just ground for the boast of the Patna people, that their country was once thickly populated, and flourishing to such an extent that even rich merchants were numbered in it up to the time when anarchy, at first, and the depredations of the Mahrattas afterwards, compelled them to depart. Till the occurrence of these events, which now remain to be noticed, it is believed then that the attention of the rulers of Patna, 20 in succession, was given to the welfare and prosperity of their country and subjects.

24. Cause of decline of power & Prosperity. Hirdur Shah Deo² the 20th Muharajah of Patna died leaving 2 young sons the eldest, named Rasee Sing Deo³, under the guardianship of his younger brother, their uncle, Buckraj Sing⁴. This uncle, in view to the usurpation of the Guddee, murdered the mother of the two boys and intended to kill also the latter. But he was frustrated in this intentions, for the boys were carried off in security to Phooljur by their maternal uncle and there brought up. Rasee Sing Deo, on coming of age, sought assistance from Nagpore, and procuring a force of Mahrattas, proceeded to regain his rights. He attacked and killed his uncle, and thus obtained possession of his estate. But however much this was beneficial to himself and pleasing perhaps to a portion of his subjects, still the country paid heavily at the time of his restoration; while party spirit and enmity having now been excited, it was to be expected that, an occasion of offering conflicting interests might again stir them to a blaze; and again the plains of Patna having now been opened out to the view of the Mahrattas it might have been regarded as certain that their greed would spend itself on the first opportunity of home dissensions in depredatory incursions. And this prospect was indeed brought to issue as follows:—Rasee Singh retained his position for many years; but, during this period, he roused spirit of discontent and rebellion was spreading through the land, till ultimately it was brought to burst upon the unfortunate Muharajah then nearly 80 years old, by the intrigues of his second wife. The story is that he had three wives; no offspring by the first, 2 boys by the second, and one son, the eldest of all by the third, the second wife was fearful that the eldest son by the third Rasee would, being his father's favourite, succeed to the Guddee unless, during the Muharajah's life she should take steps to prevent it. The measures she took for prevention were the exciting a general rebellion, which resulted, as before noted, in the flight of the Muharajah Rasee Sing Deo to Sonopore. The Muharajah however frustrated the design of his second wife; for he took him with to Sonopore, his grandson, son of his eldest born; and on his death, 3 years afterwards, appointed him his successor, by putting the regular pugree on his head. During these three years the whole of Patna was in a state of perfect anarchy; the Rasees at Patna were quarrelling for dominion, and their partizans were pellying the country indiscriminately around. Life and property were nowhere secure. All respectable persons fled to Sonopore and were followed by numbers of the general population. On the death of old Rajah the people acknowledged his appointed successor who then returned to Patna. He was however but a youth, and found no one to advise or assist him, except such as bad and hazed^{*} in the outrages of the inter-regnum. Even his

1. Gauntias 2. Hirdhar Singh Deo. 3. Rai Singh Deo. 4. Batsaraj Singh Deo.

* The writing here in the Ms is very indistinct and unintelligible.

father, dismayed at the state of general disturbance, and disappointed at the preference given to his son, retired on a pilgrimage to Allahabad and there died. The young Muharajah, Prithee Sing Deo¹, lived only three years after succeeding to the Guddeo. The next ruler was Ramchundur Deo², the captive of the Maharattas, who now had completely overrun and split the country already so unhappily ripe for spoliation.

25. It was scarcely to be expected that, after an anarchy of 3 years and a total disruption of order, under the force of subsequent events, that the Zemindars of the frontier, who had been so long revelling in wild independency, would soon be brought back into proper subjection, especially when the power, by entire loss of resources, of the succeeding Muharajah (father to the present one) was almost utterly paralyzed. Still less could it be supposed that, within the short space of the reign of that one Muharajah, the vacuum in the population could be filled up. Yet it is satisfactory to be able to state, that a more towards a clearance of the jungle, and an extension of cultivation is certainly being made and that out of 22 Zemindars four only are complained of and of these four, only one is rebellious.

26. Description of land tenures. The various land tenures may be thus described.

- 1st Zemindarees. (Zamindari)
- 2nd Gurhoteeahoes. (Gurhtiahi)
- 3rd Baboosans. (Babuan)
- 4th Jageerdars. (Jagiridar)
- 5th Sendor Teekas. (Sindura tika)
- 6th Burhumoters. (Brahmottara)
- 7th Dhurumoters. (Dharmottara)
- 8th Home Villages.

27. Classification of Zemindarees. The Zemindarees may be divided into four parts.

- 1stly. Those held as Khorak-Poshak by near relatives of the Muharajah
- 2ndly. Hereditary holding of Gonds & others in the centre of Patna.
- 3rdly. The Bbinjeor estates. (Binjhari estates)
- 4thly. The Kondhmals. (Kandhamalas)

Khorak Poshak estates :—Of the 1st part there are two only ; but in comparison with the size of Patna and the present resources of the Muharajah they are far too large. One Jhorasinga, is the property of the Muharajah's uncle Jograj Singh,³ and was a grant by the late ruler. The other is an allotment by the present Muharajah to his younger half brother Baijul Sing,⁴ made however upon pressure of superior authority.

Insubordination of the two Khorak-Poshakdars :—It is of the proprietors of these two estates that complaint has been made, and justly, that they do not sufficiently respect the authority of the Muharajah. This complaint it is hoped will not be of further duration. Jograj Sing, an old man upwards of 80, is a fine specimen of a Rajpoot—Baijul Sing is a worthless drug consumer.

1, Prithviraj Singh. 2, Ramachandra Deo. 3, Jograj Singh. 4, Baijul Singh

Of the 2nd sort there are 5 Zemindars the proprietors all respectable and loyal.

The Bhinjeers, or estates of Bhinjal population, are six in number, lying under the hills of Gondmardhan and Rabacdinga which form the northern and north-western bounderies respectively between Borasambar and Khurriar. All the Zemindars of these are subject to authority but one, Salik Ram Burhoya.¹ This man is a reputed harbourer of dacoits—for the last 5 years he has refused to pay any revenue, and has completely thrown off his allegiance. The Muharajah is at this moment advancing with a large force to apprehend him.

There are nine Kondhan estates situated on the southern frontier bordering on Kalahandy. One only of the chiefs of these is said to be slow to obey the Muharajah's orders. He was punished a year ago for such disrespect and as he is decidedly an intelligent man it is hoped that punishment will have good effect. The rest of the Chiefs are under proper subjection, and all are regular in the payments of their fixed revenue, but two, who will not admit of a regular assessment but still are ready every three years, when the Muharajah goes himself to them, to make him an equivalent present; increasing it even if by chance the Muharajah be accompanied by his mother.

28. Designation of Gurhotteeahces jurisdictions: There are 5 Gurhotteeahces, or clusters of villages under the Police jurisdiction of 5 Gurhotteeahces. The pay of these officers and that of the pikemen under them, is met by service clands out of one or more of the village or villages in which their head-quarters are located. The circle of a Gurhotteeahce jurisdiction does not only include such service paying villages, but often contains home villages and rent free tenures. For instance (referring to the schedule attached to these notes). Salabatha² is noted as one village. But the Gurhotteeahce is resident and deriving his pay in land produce there has police authority over 21 other villages of which 5 are Khalsa, 6 Rent free, and 10 Jhageers.

29. Number of tenures held by Baboos or connections of the Muharajah:—The Baboos are 3 in number; of these one is rent free, another at nominal rent the third peppercorn.

30. Number of Jagheerdars:—The Jagheerdars 27 in number are held by illegitimate offshoots or distant relatives or friends of the Muharajah.

31. Villages held by Ranees:—The Sendocr Teekaha are the marriage portion of various Ranees and amount to 10 villages.

32. Grants to Brahmins and endowments to Temples:—The Burhumotors and Dhurumotors are grants and endowments to Brahmins and temples. The former at 2 festivals according to a scale present the Muharajah with a golden *jīneo* (Brahminical thread) of a rupee in value, and one cocoanut.

33. Number of Home Farms:—The home farms, in consequence of the absorbing proportions of the Khoorak Poshak tenures, amount only to 33 in number.

1. Sulagram Barhie, 2. Salbata.

34. Revenue and Expenditure :—The Revenue derived from the whole estate by the Muharajah at this present time is shown in the annexed schedule to be Rs. 8,823/-

Out of this he has to pay Peshkush	...	...	Rs. 600/-
Sums income fixed	...	...	Rs. 1,000/-
Body Troops	...	...	Rs. 1,000/-
Total	...	...	<u>Rs. 2,600/-</u>

35. Land Produce : The produce of Patna consists of Rice-paddy Khooltie, Til, Mung, Goor, Castorseed, Linseed, and Cotton. Rice-paddy is only grown in sufficiency for home consumption. There is a small export of the remaining produce in cotton, to about the extent of 1,200 maunds.

36. Castes :—The Castes inhabiting Patna are :—
- | | |
|--------------|--------------|
| 1. Kondha | 8. Bhoolahs |
| 2. Bhinjuals | 9. Keunta |
| 3. Gonds | 10. Telees |
| 4. Souras | 11. Ghasees |
| 5. Khooltas | 12. Cours |
| 6. Agurias | 13. Soondees |
| 7. Gandas. | |

37. Condition of the Gurjhat State :—From all that could be gathered from the village holders and Zemindars it would appear that Patna is in a quiet and peaceable state. Cattle lifting is not uncommon and house breaking occasionally perpetrates but it does not appear that dacoitees or other heinous offences are prevalent except it may be near Ramoor where a dacoitee was reported a short time back.

Sd/ H. B. Impey Major,
Deputy Commissioner.

APPENDIX [No. 1

Genealogical Tree of the Muharajahs of Patna

No.	Name	No.	Name
Rajahs of Sambargurh		Rajah of Patna	
1.	Richpal Sing (1)	1.	Rumace Deo (Ramai Deo)
2.	Bhab Sing	2.	Mahaling Sing
3.	Dalbhunju Sing	3.	Baijal Deo (1)
4.	Bahan Sing	4.	Buokraja Deo (Vatsaraj Deo)
5.	Bhan Sing	5.	Bhojraj Deo
6.	Nath Sing	6.	Purtab Roodr Deo (Prataparudra Deo)
7.	Kurun Sing	7.	Bhopal Deo (1)
8.	Bhun Sing	8.	Nagsing Deo
9.	Soor Sing	9.	Bikramadit (1) Bikramaditya Deo
10.	Dheer Sing	10.	Baijal Deo (2)
11.	Chutturpaul Sing	11.	Bujjur Heeradhar Deo (1) (Bajra Hiradhar Deo)
12.	Ukhace Sing (1)	12.	Nursing Deo
13.	Prithee Sing	13.	Chutturpal Deo (Chhatrapal Deo)
14.	Oojul Sing	14.	Baijal Deo (3)
15.	Kaisree Sing (1)	15.	Hirdai Narain Deo (1) (Hruday Narayan Deo)
16.	Murkut Sing	16.	Purtap Deo
17.	Jai Sing	17.	Bikramadit Deo (2)
18.	Bulwant Sing	18.	Mukund Deo
19.	Fudun Sing	19.	Balaram Deo
20.	Richpal Sing (2)	20.	Herdanarain Deo (2) (Hruday Narayan Deo)
21.	Nursing Sing	21.	Racesing Deo (Raising Deo)
22.	Sumoondur Sing	22.	Pirtheo Raj Sing Deo (Prithviraj Sing Deo)
23.	Uchit Sing	23.	Ram Chandra Deo
24.	Govind Sing	24.	Bhopal Deo (2)
25.	Kaisree Sing (2)	25.	Bhujjur Heeradhar Deo (2) (Bajra Hiradhar Deo)
26.	Duswant Sing		Present Rajah.
27.	Ukhace Sing (2)		
28.	Dip Sing		
29.	Dhoul Sing		
30.	Nag Sing		
31.	Hutumbur Sing		

APPENDIX No. 2

List of the Gurjhat States attached to Sumbulpore in 1861

No.	Name of Gurjhat State.	Name and Caste of present Chiefs.	Remarks.
1.	Patna	Bhujjur Heera Dhur Deo, Muharajah Caste Chowan.	Originally a cluster of 8 united gurhas the chiefs of which took it in turn to rule for a day under the title of Rajah was formed into one compact state under one paramount ruler Muharajah about 600 years ago by Ramdeo Deo a Rajput who derived his origin from a race of western Rajput Rajahs. Was an independent tributary state of Patna from the first.
2.	Brindanayagaah (Bendra Nawagarh)	Rajah Oomraosai Caste Gond.	Was constituted into an independent tributary state with title of Rajah by Hirdhar Deo 16th Muharajah of Patna for his younger son Gopaul Roy being composed of 3 gurhas of the original 8 Patna gurhas and the area of Kharriar given in dowry to Gopaul Roy by the Rajah of Jaipore (Madras Presy) on his marriage with the latter's daughter.
3.	Kharriar	Rajah Bussoon Chander Sing, Caste Chowan.	Created an independent tributary state by Ram Chandar Deo A.D. 1818 with the sanction of the then Political agent being composed of 12 villages originally of Patna which formed the small Zamindari called first Atgaon and afterwards Borassambar and 84 villages wrested from the Phooljur state during the inroads of the Mahrattas.
4.	Borassambar	Soonder Barhia Zamindar, Caste Binjwal.	Was an independent tributary state with title of Rajah from the first.
5.	Phooljur	Rajah Jug Sai Caste Gond.	-do- -do-
6.	Sarnagurbh	Rajah Sangram Sing Caste Gond.	Originally an independent tributary state of Sergooja
7.	Suktee	Rajah Ranjeet Sing Caste Gond.	

No.	Name of Gurjhat State.	Name and Caste of present Chiefs.	Remarks.
			without a title was brought under the dominion of Sumbulpore by Balaram Deo of Muharajah of Sumbulpore. The title of Rajah was created by Narain Sing last Muharajah of Sumbulpore.
8.	Raigarh cum	Rajah Ghansham Sing, Caste Gond.	Originally 2 independent tributary states of Sergoorjah the first with title of Rajah were brought under the dominion of Sumbulpore by Balram Deo 1st Muharajah of Sumbulpore. Bargarh being confiscated in 1833 for the rebellion of its Chief was made over to the Raigarh Raja by the British Government.
9.	Bargarh		
10.	Bamra	Raja Tribhooban Deo, Bahadoor, Caste Chowan.	Originally an independent state with title of Rajah, Tributary to Sergoojah It comprised with Modern Bamra the Zamindari of Kehracole and the portion of the lands of the present district of Sumbulpore that lay between Bamra and Rehracole on the east and the river Eebe with a line continued from the bend thereof to the west, and of the city, (present) of Sumbulpore. It was brought under the dominion of Sumbulpore by Balram Deo 1st Rajah of Sumbulpore who deprived it of the Zemindaree lands above noted.
11.	Rehracole	Bisoon Chunder Jenamonee	Was originally a Zemindaree of Bamra was created a Tributary Gurjhat state of Sumbulpore by Balram Deo 1st Maharajah of the Sumbulpore.
12.	Sonepur	Rajah Nilladree (Niladri) Sing Deo, Caste Chown (Chauhan)	Was originally a Zemindaree of Patna. Was created a tributary state of Sumbulpore with title of Rajah Bansee Gopal Deo 4th Rajah of Sumbulpore for his second son.

Sd. H. B. Impey
Major, Deputy Commissioner,
SUMBULPORE

Appendix III

Two European Accounts of Orissa.

By

I. DUARTE BARBOSA

&

II. TIEFFENTHALER

I. DUARTE BARBOSA'S 'THE KINGDOM OF OTISA'

Note

The following note is prepared from the book entitled "The Book of Duarte Barbosa" published as the "Works issued by the HAKLUYT Society" Vol. I (1918) and Vol. II (1921), London. This book was translated from the Portuguese text published at Lisbon in 1512 and was edited and annotated by Mr. MANSEL LONGWORTH DAMES, a retired I.C.S. and the Vice-president, Royal Asiatic Society and Royal Anthropological Institute, London etc.

Mr. DAMES writes in the introduction as follows about the author Barbosa.

(1) "Barbosa was in the service of the Portuguese Government in India from about 1500 till about 1516 or 1517."

(2) "One Portuguese contemporary writer named Correa says that 'Duarte Barbosa learnt the tongue of the Malabares so well, that he spoke it better than the natives of the country'".

Barbosa has left a good geographical Account of Western coast of India from Guzrat. The editor writes in the Introduction to Vol. I as follows— "From Ceylon Barbosa follows the East coast of the Indian Peninsula from Coromandal to Bengal and here it will be noticed that his information not nearly so full as that which he was able to give of the West coast."

He has left a general account of the Kingdom of Narsyngua or Vijayanagar. He wrote BISNAGUA for the city of Vijayanagar. Krishna Deva Raya, the king of Vijayanagar, was written by him as RAYEN.

Barbosa wrote a short account of *The Kingdom of OTISA* under item 85 of Vol. I published in 1918 and a comparatively fuller account of the *Kingdom of OTISA* is printed at pp. 132-134 in Vol. II with notes by the Editor Mr. Dames.

It is certain that this Portuguese account of Orissa was written during the period from 1510-1515 A. D., when king Prataparudra Deva was ruling in Orissa. Barbosa describes that the people of Orissa are "very good fighting men, and its king who has a mighty army of foot soldiers and is oftentimes at war with him of Narayngua."

From above it appears that Barbosa got information from reliable sources not known to us.

The portion of the account of Vol. I stating "the great kingdom of Delay; this kingdom pertains to the Heathen. The king thereof is a Moor," is misleading because the King of Orissa was not a Muslim. But it will be clear if this portion is altered slightly as follows:—

"the great kingdom of Delay; the King thereof is a Moor. This kingdom pertains to Heathens and the King is the Lord of many footmen."

The account of Orissa printed in the Book of Duarte Barbosa, Vol. I and II with notes given by Mr. Dames the Editor, is reproduced below with due acknowledgement.

CHIEF EDITOR.

85. THE KINGDOM OF OTISA'. (Vol. I. p. 228)

There is another kingdom further inland, which marches with the kingdom of Narsyngua on the one side, and with Bengala on the other, and on yet another side, with the great kingdom of Delay; this kingdom pertains to the Heathen. The king thereof is a Moor, and Lord of many footmen; as I have already said he is oftentimes at war with him of Narsyngua. They take one from the other all the lands they can, and very seldom are at peace. The custom of these people and their habitations I write not here, because we have little knowledge of them by reason of their dwelling away from the coast; only this, that in that land there are but few Moors, and that they are good fighting men.

1. Orissa is here called Otisa, but Ramusio gives the form Orixa which is common in later Portuguese writers. The older form is closer to the vernacular *Odisha*, the cerebral d in which easily passes into r. The ancient form was *Odra*. The language is known as Oriya (popularly Uriya) a term sometimes wrongly employed for the country, as for instance by Raes (*A Forgotten Empire*, p 239), "And this kingdom of Orya is said to be much larger than the kingdom of Narsyngua, since it marches with all Bengal, and is at war with the Malacca sea. It reaches to the kingdom of Cambaya and to the kingdom of Deccan; and they told me with positive certainty that it extends as far as Persia."

These extravagant ideas were based on no real knowledge. Orissa did not, it need hardly be said, extend to Persia nor to Gujarat. From Burma it was separated by Bengal and the sea. It did, however, meet the boundaries of both Vijayanagar and the Bahmani kingdom as represented by its offshoot the Golkonda kingdom of the Kutbshahis.

It is introduced by Barbosa at this point on account of its relations with Vijayanagar. Further on in his work he gives it another paragraph in its proper place on the coast of the Bay of Bengal. Had he ever made a final revision of his work he would doubtless have combined the two notices under the latter, its proper geographical position.

KINGDOM OF OTISA,¹ (Vol. II, p. 132)

Thus going forward and leaving behind this boundary of the great kingdom of Narsyngua there lies on the coast the kingdom of Otisa, which is held by Heathen, very good fighting men, and its King who has a mighty army of foot soldiers and is oft times at war with him of Narsyngua.² This kingdom extends

1. Orissa has already been alluded to by the author in 85 among the border countries at war with Vijayanagar, and he adds little here to the scanty information given there. It is doubtful whether any Portuguese had visited Orissa, and certain that no expedition had been made to any part of its coast. What is told was doubtless derived by reports which came through Vijayanagar. The form Otisa represents the vernacular Odisa or Orissa. The coast may be roughly said to extend from the Chilka Lake (south-west) to the Subarna-rekha river (north-east).

2. Narsyngua. Barbosa is correct in asserting that Orissa was often at war with Vijayanagar. There had been wars in the fourteenth century when the Gajapatis of Orissa were defeated by Sangama II, but in the fifteenth century, when the power of Vijayanagar had declined, the King of Orissa was able to extend his borders southwards as far as Udayagiri, south of the Krishna River. This conquest was carried out by Kapilendra Deva, founder of the Solar dynasty, who also waged war successfully against the Bahmanis and Bengal. His successor, Purusottama Deva, was also successful in his war against Vijayanagar, but his son Prataparudra Deva, in the early part of the sixteenth century, was defeated by Krishna Deva, the Vijayanagar King of Barbosa's time, and lost all the conquests south of the Krishna; and shortly after the district between the Krishna and Godavari was lost to Kuli Kutb Shah, the founder of the Kutbshahi dynasty of Golconda. At one time, in the latter half of the fifteenth century the conquests of Orissa had extended over the whole of the northern half of what is now the Presidency of Madras. At its furthest it reached Kanchi (cabeeveram), and for a long time the Pennar River was its southern boundary. When Barbosa wrote, as noted under Paleacate p. 129, No. 1. Udayagiri marked the border line, and the final delivery of Northern Telingana by Krishna Deva must have taken place at a later date.

Lately published volume (Sources of Vijayanagar History, by S. Krishnaswami Aiyengar, Madras University Press, 1919) gives a good deal of information on these wars contained in Telugu poems and prose records. One of these poems (p. 152) claims to be by Krishna Deva himself and records his advance across the Krishna and the Godavari Delta, and the erection of a pillar of victory at Potnuru, and adds that the Gajapati had even to flee from his own capital (at Cuttack).

far inlands and has but few seaports and little trade. It extend along the coast northwards where is a river called Ganges (but they call it Guorigua), and on the further bank of this river begins the kingdom of Bengal where also the King of Otisa is sometimes at war.

To this river of Ganges go all the Heathen on pilgrimages, and bathe therein, saying that thereby they obtain salvation, for that this river issues forth from the fount of the Terrestrial Paradise. This river is very great and fair on both banks and well peopled with fair and wealthy Heathen cities. Between this river and Euphrates lies the First India (and the Second), a country very fruitful and healthy and with a very temperate climate and hence onward towards Malaca lies the Third (India) as the Moors say "who have known it longer then we." And between these aforesaid rivers there are fertile and well-furnished lands; in the interior as well as on the strand of the sea. The people thereof is very polished and wealthy. The more part of them are very stingy and spend little. It is a land of very good air. Many trees and evil smelling streets all live with but little toil, there is here neither great heat nor extreme cold, but rather it is well tempered.

II. TIEFFENTHALER'S ACCOUNT OF ORISSA

Note

Stirling in his 'An Account of Orissa Proper' published first in 1822, writes at p. 83 (Calcutta, Bengal Secretariat Edition of 1904) that Mukunda Deva "has been honoured with a notice in the work of the Jesuit Tieffenthaler, who extends our knowledge of his character by informing us that 'the last king of the Orissans was called Mukund, who was very polite to strangers and had four hundred women,'"

Joseph Tieffenthaler, the Jesuit missionary came to India in 1743 and lived at Agra upto 1766 A. D. He wrote a work called the Geography of Hindustan in Latin. The French translation of the work which I got on loan from the library of the Asiatic Society of Calcutta, was consulted by me and at my request, my friend Sri Pranabesh Singh Ray, the Lecturer in French of the Utkal University, translated into English the French text which is published below. I am indebted to Sri P. C. Singh Roy for his kind help.

The distances given from Midnapur to Cuttack in miles seem to be koss eg, two modern miles in some cases. Tieffenthaler's route from Jaleswar was the same as that of Thomas Motte to Cuttack,

Chief Editor



THE PROVINCE OF ORISSA

The Province of *Orissa* is mountainous and wild. It produces rice and a kind of pulse which in the language of the country is called *Ourd*¹. Wheat is not grown in it.

One can count in all 120 strongholds² in the forests and mountains.

In the forests and on the mountains goats are nourished in the bowels of which the stone of Bezoard³ is found.

Diamonds of the best quality are also dug out.

Rams and ewes are different from others, varieties having long bodies, short ears and small tails. Rams have mediocre horns finishing in point and of less than a finger long.

The inhabitants of this country call themselves *Gajapatis*, rulers of elephants.

The last king of the Oriyas was Mukunda who showed great good will towards the foreigners, and had 400 wives.

We have mentioned above (in the account of Bengal) the Governments of this province.

The annual revenues according to Manouzzi are
Rs. 5707500/-

According to the register 142821000 dams or Rs. 1657800/-
But converting the dams to rupees the sum becomes bigger.

*Medinipour*⁴ is an adjoining town with a new fortress where the Commander of troops resides. It is 6 miles from *Radanagar*⁵ towards *Catak*⁶ and is 6 days' journey from *Chandnagar*,⁷ *Karcpur*⁸ a town 7 miles from *Medinipour* is situated on the way leading to *Catak*. *Neraingar*⁹ is likewise a town; it is encircled by a bamboo grove and a earth mound. In the same town there is a quadriangular castle built in stone, provided with towers at the four corners. *Daton*¹⁰ a town at a distance of 7 miles from *Narainghar* *Jalesor*,¹¹ big town 10 miles from *Daton* towards *Catak*. At a distance of a quarter mile

1. It seems to be harada, a kind of pulse. 2. The names of forts are not known. It seems that the writer refers to forts mentioned in Raja Man Singh's Settlement published by Stirling. 3. Vaidurya, a kind of gem. 4. Midnapur. 5. Radhanagar. 6. Cuttack. 7. Chandanagar. 8. Kharagpur. 9. Narayangarh. 10. Danton. 11. Jalewar.

from *Jelessor* is the course of a big river. From the bank of the river the country belongs to a Raja called *Morbans*¹² *Ramchandargarh*¹³ is a stone built fort, situated in a plain 18 miles from Jellessor. *Balissor* which is the Europeans name as *Balasore* is a maritime port and place of anchorage where European navigators reside who conduct the big vessels by the sea and between the sandy banks of the Ganges in Bengal. This port is at a distance of 8 miles from *Ramchandar*. *Soror*¹⁴ is a small town 10 miles¹⁵ from *Balissor* or *Balasore* in the south west. *Badrak*¹⁶ a big town at a distance of 10 miles¹⁷ from *Soror*. *Jajpour*¹⁸ a town having a fort built in stone, situated on a stream at the name of which is not known. *Lakanpur*¹⁹ a village seven miles from *Jajpore*. *Padampour*²⁰—a village 6 miles from *Lakanpour* from where there remains 3 to *Catak*.

Catak is a vast city, compored of huts and of stone buildings. In the same city is found a fortress of quite large circumference, strong, built in stone, and covered with plasters, and provided with towns. The Governor of the Province reside there. This city is bathed by river *Mahanadda*,²¹ which restrained by a stone bank placed at the western angle pours out towrrds the south a very considerabl protion of water called *Gatschuri*.²² A mound built in stone continues for the space of a mile from the angle upto the bank of one river and the other. A rampart of earth protects the city from inimical invasion in the east. The words *Catak* signifies to the *Orissan*²³ 'Army'. This name has been given to the city because *Ram* assembled here the army with which he left to resque his wife *Sita* from the hands of the giant *Ravan*.

12. Mayurbhauj, 13. Ramchandrapurgarh, 14. Soro, 15. 20 miles or 10 koss, 16. Bhadrak, 17. 20 miles or 10 koss, 18. Jajpur, 19. Lakanpur on the right bank of Birupa, in the Cuttack district, 20. Padampur on the left bank of the Mahabadi, 21. Mahanadi, 22. Katjori, 23. Orissan.

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A HOARD OF YĀDAVA COINS FROM SONPUR

By Sri B. V. Nath

See plate 17

In the year 1950, a hoard of Yādava coins was brought to the Orissa State Museum from Balangir treasury. These coins were found in the ex-State of Sonpur. In this paper the importance of these coins, which throws a flood of light on the history of Sonpur area, is discussed. The coins are 27 in number and they belong to the Yādava rulers from Śiṅghaṇa to Śrī Rāma who were ruling at Devagiri from C. 1210 to C. 1309 A. D.

The present collection contains 9 coins of Śiṅghaṇa, 5 of Kānhapa, 5 of Mahādeva, 3 of Śrī Rāma. The remaining 5 coins of the lot are so blurred that their proper identification is difficult.

Before describing the characteristic of these coins, let us examine the circumstances under which the Yādavas got the opportunity to circulate their coinage in Chhattisgarh area for a pretty long period. Elsewhere I have discussed the discovery of the Kālachuri coins in Sonpur area. As the names of the Kālachuri rulers occur repeatedly in their genealogical list, it becomes difficult on the part of the numismatists to assign their coins to exact rulers. But with the help of palaeography and other available evidence, I have assigned the Kālachuri coins of Sonpur hoard to Ratnadeva II (C. 1120-35), Prthivideva II (C. 1135-60) and Jājalladeva II (C. 1160-80). It is not known definitely whether the successor of Jājalladeva II issued gold coins. The Ratanpur¹ inscription of Jājalladeva I, dated C. 1114 A. D., shows that Bhujabala the lord of Suvarṇapura (modern Sonpur) was defeated by him. Further, the Kharod² and Pendrabandha³

1. *E.I.* Vol. I, p. 32., 2. *Ibid.* Vol. XXI, p. 159,

3. *Ibid.* Vol. XXIII, p. 1.

inscriptions issued afterwards by his successors unhesitatingly speak of the defeat of Chodagaṅga and his son Kāmārṇava by the Kālachuri kings. The wars were fought at different times and every time the Gaṅga kings were defeated. From C. 1158 A.D. to C. 1213 A. D., we do not hear of any war between the Kālachuris and the Gaṅgas from any inscription. From the Chāṭesvara inscription dated C. 1220 A. D., Vishṇu, the Commander-in-Chief of Anaṅgabhīmādeva III (1211-1238 A. D.) went in an expedition perhaps towards Tummāṇa for a trial of strength with the ruler of that country who was rather found terrified and then Vishṇu diverted his attention towards Bengal against Iwāz. From above, it is clear that the Kālachuri king during that period was a weaker one in comparison with the power of the Gaṅga king.

We came to know from Hemādri's praśasti⁴ and Chikka Sakanna⁵ inscription that Siṅghaṇa (C. 1210-47) a powerful Yādava king, defeated Jājalladeva of Kālachuri dynasty probably in the first half of the 13th century and took away his kingdom. The Yādava supremacy therefore in Kālachuri kingdom perhaps continued till C. 1308 A. D. which is found to be corroborated by the fact that there is no mention of any powerful king of Kālachuri dynasty during the said period. The use of Yādava coins from Siṅghaṇa down to Rāmachandra (C. 1309 A. D.) in the Kālachuri kingdom seems fairly certain without any doubt.

These Yādava gold coins discovered at Sonpur are otherwise known as Padma-taṅkas. Similar coins were noticed first by Sri Walter Elliot who published them in the book '*Coins of South India*'. But he attributed them wrongly at that time to the rulers of Kadamva dynasty ruling in the 5th-6th century A.D. At last S. R. Aiyangar attributed them rightly to the rulers of the Yādava dynasty ruling at Devagiri in the 13th and 14th century. From the genealogical table, as supplied by R. G. Bhandarkar in his History of Deccan, we see that there were altogether seven Yādava rulers who ruled successively from 1187 A. D. to 1312 A. D. No other kings of this dynasty, except Siṅghaṇa, Kṛṣṇa, Mahādeva and Rāmachandra appear to have issued gold coins. We do not know whether Saṅkara the successor of Rāmachandra, had issued any coin. Siṅghaṇa is said to have greatly extended the power and territory of his family. From the praśasti of Hemādri and the Chikka Sakanna inscription we are informed that he not only defeated Jājalladeva

4. Bhandarkar's *History of Deccan*, p. 243, verse 43.

5. *M.A.S.R.* 1929, p. 143.

but also took away his kingdom. After Siṅghana, his grandson Kṛṣṇa, known as Kānhapa, Kanhāra or Kandhara, is described as a terrible king to the kings of Mālava, Gujarat and Koṅkana etc. He was succeeded by his brother Mahādeva who was equally a powerful king. After him the Yādava throne was inherited by Rāmachandra, the son of Kṛṣṇa in the year 1271 A. D. He ruled the inherited empire undisturbed till 1309 A. D., when Alla-ud-din brought him under submission. Soon after this event, the Yādava glory faded under the Khilji supremacy.

The examination of the above events and the achievements of the Yādava rulers during their respective reigns as gleaned from the different sources, eventually lead us to believe that the Yādava empire did not suffer from any loss of territory in the 13th century. As the striking of coins was the coveted insignia of sovereignty in the medieval period, the Yādavas rightly struck coins from generation to generation and circulated them in their wide empire. The present coins under discussion are the direct indication of the Yādava supremacy in the Chhattisgarh area.

Let us describe the characteristics of these coins that require our attention. They are cup-shaped in appearance. One side is concave and the other is convex. The obverse side is always stamped with the legend and the auspicious emblems. The reverse side is completely blank. The centre of the coin is always punched with an eight petalled lotus and on its four cardinal points are Śaṅkha and Chakra; the name of the issuer and lastly a Telugu Kannada Sa. These coins are neither drilled nor clipped and therefore look beautiful in appearance. The emblems of Chakra, Padma and Śaṅkha punched on the coins, indicate that the Yādava rulers were Vaishnavas.

A little discussion about the method of punching these coins seems necessary as the coins are cup shaped. It appears in a most striking way that at first the mint master, after putting the flattened gold piece on the die, got the coins stamped with the name and the emblems on the four cardinal points leaving the centre vacant to be punched afterwards. After this being over, the centre was perhaps hammered with a separate lotus punch on a piece of soft wood or metal as a result of which the coins got a cup shaped appearance.

Below is given a list of the Yādava rulers⁶ and their periods of reign assigned tentatively to them. The Sonpur coins belong

to each of them and thereby indicate that they were issued by them.

Singhapa II C. 1210-C. 1247 A. D.

Krshṇa or Kāṇhapa C. 1247-1260 A. D.

Mahādeva 1260-1271 A.D.

Rāmachandra or Sri Rāma 1271-1309 A. D.

These kings ruled at Devagiri for a long period continuously expanding their dominion far and wide. Dr. Altekar, in 1946-47, conjecturally held the view¹ that the Yādavas held the Chhattisgarh area for three decades at least and now this turns out to be fully true by the discovery of these coins representing the Yādava rulers from Singhana to Sri Rāma in an area contiguous to Chhattisgarh. He only found three gold coins of Singhana in association with a single coin of Nasir-ud-din and did not know the gold coins of Kāṇhapa, Mahādeva and Sri Rāma to be discovered in the vicinity of Chhattisgarh area. The revered scholar again held the view, on the find of the gold coin of Nasir-ud-din that perhaps the Muslim power succeeded in penetrating to Chhattisgarh area by driving out the Yādavas. But this seems improbable from their present find which includes coins of 3 successors of Singhana. As the gold coins travel over a long distance, it also appears that the single coin of Nasiruddin might have been brought to Chhattisgarh area through trade or commerce.

Description of the coins.

The coins are cup shaped in appearance, concave on one side and convex on the other. Reverse is always blank. Metal-pure gold. Weight 57 grains average. Diameter. 6".—8".

Coins of Singhana.

- Obverse. (1) Eight petalled lotus in the centre.
To the right perhaps Telugu Kannada Sa.
To the left an auspicious Chakra symbol.
Below the lotus a conch.
On the top, the name Singhana.
Dental Sa is clear. Gha is clear.
The half of letter ṇa remains.
Below the name a two pronged spear.

(Plate 17 No. A1)

(2) As above

(Plate 17 No. A2)

7. J. K. H. R. S., Vol. I No. 2, pp. 161-63; J. N. S. I., Vol. VII, Part II pp. 147-51.



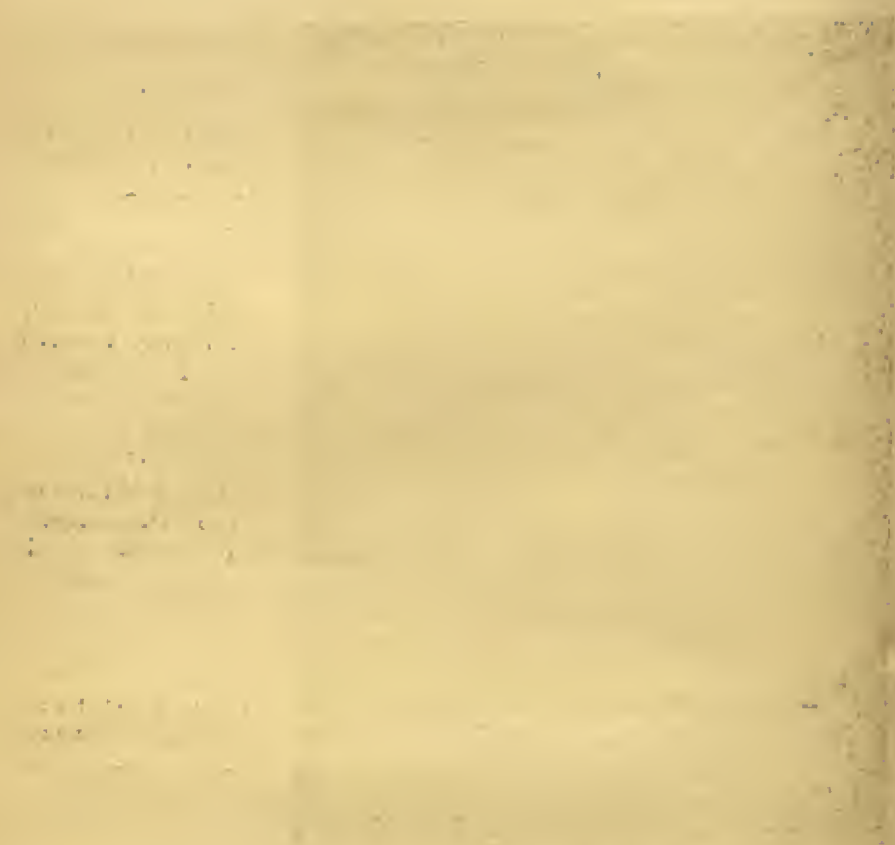
A
Coins of Sing'ana
(from left to right)
1 2 3

B
Coins of Kānhapa
(from left to right)
1 2

C
Coins of Mahādeva
(from left to right)
1 2 3

D
Coins of Sri Rāma
(from left to right)
1 2 3

Yādava Coins From Sonpur



- (3) As above. But the conch is indistinct.
On this particular coin, the Telugu Kannada
Sa is clear (Plate 17 No. A3)

Coins of Kānhapa

Obverse

- (1) All the symbols are same as on the coins of Singhapa.
The name is distinctly Kānhapa.
Below the name the object is clearly a two pronged
spear. (Plate 17 No. B 1.)
(2) As above. (Plate 17 No. B 2)

Coins of Mahādeva

Obverse

- (1) Symbols are the same as shown before.
The name of the king as Mahāde(va) (Plate 17 No. C1)
Below the name is a two pronged spear.
(2) Do Do (Plate 17 No. C2)
(3) Do Do. The name is (Ma)hādeva. (Plate 17 No. C3)

Coins of Sri Rāma or Rāmachandra

Obverse

- (1) All the symbols are the same as that on the coins
described above. The position of the Telugu Kannada
Sa and the auspicious Chakra symbols are transposed
on these coins.
The name is clearly Sri Rāma.
Half of 'Ma' is visible. (Plate 17 No. D1)
(2) As above. Two pronged spear is very clear on this
coin. (Plate 17 No. D2)
(3) As above. The name Sri Rāma is exceptionally clear
on this coin. The two pronged spear is also
conspicuous. (Plate 17 No. D3)
-

TWO COPPER-PLATE GRANTS OF MĀDHAVAVARMAN (ŚRĪ SAINYABHĪTA II)

By Sri Styānarāyan Rajguru,
With Plates

Two unpublished sets of copperplate grants of Mādhavarman alias Śrī Sainyabhīta of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Kōṅgada have been preserved in the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar. The first set may be called by the name of the Orissa Museum Plates of Mādhavarman and the second set by the name of the Purushottampur copper-plate grant of Mādhavarman alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II. Regarding the find spot and history of discovery of the first set nothing has been given in the register. In the year 1922 the second set of grant was acquired for the Orissa Museum. This set of plates was dug out, as I was informed by Sri Harihar Das, M.L.A., Orissa, in the premises of the Jagannath temple of the village of Purushottampur in Pūrvakhaṇḍa of the District of Ganjam. After careful examination I came to the conclusion that both the grants were made by one and the same king Mādhavarman alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II of the Śailodbhava dynasty of Kōṅgada, which I have discussed in this paper separately together with the historical aspects relating to the Śailodbhavas.

The Orissa State Museum Copper-plate grant of Mādhavarman

The set consists of three plates held by a copper-ring which is about 3' in diameter. The two ends of the ring are secured in an elliptical seal measuring about $1\frac{1}{4}$ " to 1' in diameter. Each plate measures about $8\frac{3}{4}$ " \times $4\frac{3}{4}$ ". The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate are left blank. The total number of lines inscribed in the plates is 46. The seal bears in relief a couchant bull facing to its left. Below the bull there is a line of writing of Śrī Sainyabhītasya. The seal is shaped concavely. A prototype of this seal is found on the uncut ring of the Khurda copper-plate grant of Mādhavarāja, edited by

Paleographical chart of the Sailodbhava Inscription

[illegible]

*The figures 1-13 represent the names the Copper-plate, as described in the pages 7-10

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Gangamohan Laskar, about 50 years ago.¹ "The seal" he remarks "is parabolic and contains, in relief, the figure of a bull and the words Śrīḥ Sainyabhīṭasya". As the original set of Khurda plates is now preserved in the Orissa Museum, Bhubaneswar, I had the opportunity of examining them and arriving at the conclusion that both have been prepared by the same moulder. It therefore seems that both the grants were issued by one and the same king.

The Purushottampur copperplate grant of Mādhavarājan alias Śrī Sainyabhīṭa II

The set consists of three plates held by a copper-ring which is about $2\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. The two ends of the ring are soldered into a circular seal which is $1\frac{1}{2}$ " in diameter. Although the emblem and the legend of the seal are same as that of the first set, described above, the shape and size of them are not equal. Each plate measures about $6\frac{1}{2}" \times 3\frac{1}{2}"$. The first side of the first plate and the second side of the third plate are left blank. The total number of lines written on all the three plates is 46. The plates are very thin and due to a thick coating of rust some portions of the plates are damaged.

The scripts used in this charter are the same as that found in the Puri plates of Mādhavarājan; both the charters belong to the same king and are written and engraved by the same officers.² While editing the Puri plates of Mādhavarājan, R. G. Basak attributed the grant to the 9th or the 10th century A.D. on the grounds of palaeography. But, the accompanying palaeographical chart of the Sailodbhava inscriptions prepared by me will show that the scripts employed in these two charters must have belonged to the 7th century A.D. I will discuss this aspect in a separate para below.

With publication of these two charters the total number of grants of the Sailodbhava kings of Koṅḡada is thirteen. They are chronologically enlisted below with necessary informations :—

(1) The Ganjam plates of Mādhavarāja of the time of Śaśāṅka of Gupta year 300 (619-20 A.C.), edited by Hultzsch (E.I., Vol. VI, p. 143-46; E. I., Vol. VII, p. 100-02 & Bhandarkar's List. No. 1339). The genealogy of the donor is given as Mādhavarāja I, his son Ayaśobhita I and his son Mādhavarāja II, the donor. Mādhavarāja II calls himself as the 'Mahāsāmanta' under Śaśāṅka.

1. J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXIII (1904), Pt I, pp. 232—33 ff.

2. E. I., Vol. XXIII, pp. 122-31 ff.

(2) The Khurda plates of Mādhavarāja, edited by Gangamohan Laskar (J.A.S.B., Vol. LXXIII (1904), Page 282-8; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1673). The donor gives the genealogy of his dynasty as Śrī Sainyabhīta I, his son Ayaśobhīta I and his son Mādhavarāja II, the donor.

(3) Buguda plates of Mādhavarāja, alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II edited by F. Kielhorn and Hultsch (E. I., Vol. III, p. 41-46; Vol. IV, p. 144 and Vol. VII, p. 100; Bhandarkar's list No. 1672). The genealogy of the donor is given as Aranabhīta, his son Śrī Sainyabhīta I, in his dynasty Ayaśobhīta I and his son Śrī Sainyabhīta II, alias Śrī Mādhavavarman. The writer of this grant is Upendra Siṃha, son of Kuṇḍabhogin and the engraver is Jaya Siṃha, son of Chhaddibhogin. The Pratihāra (Officer) Gaṅgabhadra's name is also mentioned.*

(4) Puri plates of Mādhavavarman, alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II edited by Radhagovinda Basak (E. I., Vol. XXIII, p. 122-31 ff.). The genealogy of the donor and the name of the writer and engraver including the Pratihara are the same as mentioned in No. 3 above.

(5) Purushottampur plates of Mādhavavarman, alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II, edited herein by me. The names of the writer and engraver including Gaṅgabhadra and the genealogy of the donor are the same as found in nos. 3 and 4, above.

(6) The Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavavarman, edited herein by me. The genealogy of the donor is the same as found in nos 3, 4 and 5, above. The writer of this charter is mentioned as one Rtvik Upādhyāya Guhachandra Dūtaka, although the name of Upendra Siṃha, son of Kuṇḍabhogin is also mentioned. The date of the charter is given as Samvat 50, Srāvaṇa, 20.3.

(7) Bānapur plates of Madhyamarāja, alias Ayaśobhīta II edited by me (J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, No. I, p. 59-65ff). The genealogy of the donor is as given below :—

Aranabhīta
|
Śrī Sainyabhīta I
|
Ayaśobhīta I
|
Śrī Sainyabhīta II
|
Ayaśobhīta II
Madhyamarāja I

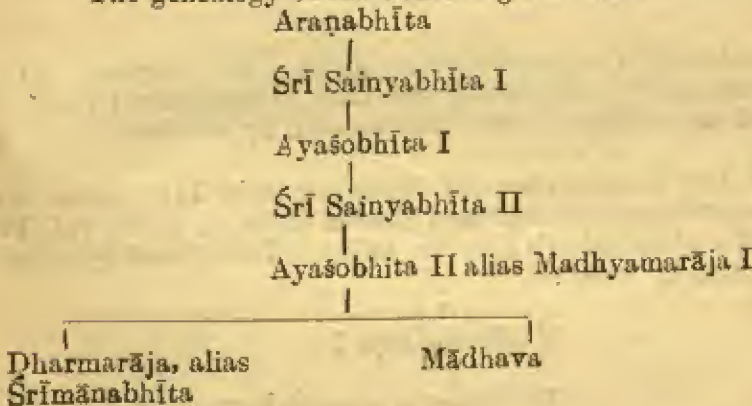
* Kielhorn remarks that the characters of this grant "Cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A. D." (E. I. VII, p-102)

This charter abruptly ends after the Praśasti of the family which runs from Pulindasena upto Madhyamarāja.

(8) Pārikud plates of Madhyamarāja, alias Ayaśobhita II, edited by R. D. Banerji (E. I., Vol. XI, pp. 181-87ff; Bhandarkar's List, No. 1675). The genealogy of the donor is the same as in No. 7 above. The date of this grant is Samvat 88, corresponding to the 26th. regnal year of the king and the moth bright-fortnight of Kārttika.

(9) Nivina plates of Dharmarāja, alias Śrīmānabhita, edited by Dr. N. P. Caakravarti (E.I., Vol. XXI, P. 31-41ff.).

The genealogy of the donor is given below :—



The names of the officers mentioned in this grant are : (1) Dūtaka Mahākshapaṭṭala... Deva (2) Jaya Simha and (3) Chhaḍḍibhagin.

The date of the grant is Samvat 9, Vaiśākha, su. di. prathama-paksha, dvitīyā.

(10) Koṇḍedda copper-plate grant of Dharmarāja, alias Śrīmānabhita, edited by Sri Y. R. Gupta (E. I. Vol. XIX, pp. 265-270 ff.). The genealogical table of the donor of this grant is the same as that found in No. 9 above. The officers mentioned in it are : (1) Dūtaka Chharampa Deva (2) Dāmodara and (3) Sthavīra Vṛddha. The date of the charter is Samvat 30, Vaiśākha, su. 8.

(11) The Chandēśvara copper-plate-grant of Dharmarāja, edited by me (J. K. H. R. S., Vol. II, No. 1, pp. 65-71). The genealogy of the doner is the same as that of the Nos. 9 and 10

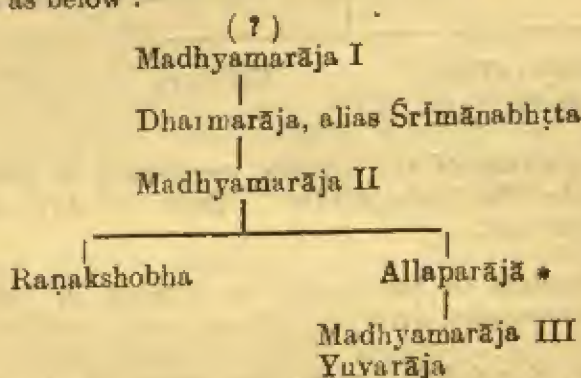
above. The officers mentioned in this charter are: (1) Dūtaka Uchita Dharmachandra (2) Saṃdhivagrahika Bhogika Mahāsāmanta (3) Peṭapāla Jyeshṭha Siṃha and (4) Chira Vṛddha.

The date of this grant is Saṃvat 105; and the occasion of grant is an eclipse of the moon.

(12) The Puri plates of Dharmarāja, edited by me (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVI, pp. 175-88; Bhandarkar's List, No. 2041). The genealogy of the donor is the same as that of the Nos. 9, 10 and 11 above. The officers mentioned in this charter are: (1) Dūtaka Mahāsāmanta Goshāla Deva (2) Vṛhad Bhogisāmanta (3) Peṭapāla Valavarma and (4) Sthavira Vṛddha.

The date of this inscription is given as Saṃvat 112. Vaiśākha su. di. 8. (Regarding the date of this grant I read it as 512 and subsequently it was contradicted by scholars.)

(13) The Tekkali plates of Madhyamarāja III; edited by Mahāmahopādhyāya Haraprasad Shastri (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. IV pp. 165-67; Bhandarkar's List No. 1676). The genealogy of the donor is given as below:—



This inscription is not a complete one. The first and the third plates of the set have not yet come to light. They are missing.

From the chronology of the above mentioned copper-plate grants of the Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgada I have come to the conclusion that Mādhhavarāja, who was at first ruling under Śaśāṅka as a Mahā sāmanta, or a subordinate ruler and used

*MM Haraprasad Shastri read the name of this king as Patta Allapa.

the Praśasti of his overlord in his Ganjam grant of the Gupta year 300 or 620 A. D., had suddenly declared himself as the lord of Kalinga country in his Khurda grant. This shows that after the defeat of Śaśaṅka by Harsha, Mādhavarāja's status was elevated. After issuing his Khurda grant, he introduced a regular 'Royal-Praśasti' of his dynasty, beginning with a verse as "Indorddhauta-mṛṇāla-tantubhirivaḥ etc.," which was afterwards followed by every king of his dynasty. The reason for which I arrived at this conclusion is that there is similarity in royal seals used in the Khurda plates and the Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavarman and that the latter grant was written by Upendra Siṃha, son of Kuṇḍabhogin whose names are also found in Mādhavarman, alias Śrī Sainyabhīta's other plates namely : (1) Buguda (2) Puri and (3) Purushottampur (vide Nos. 3, 4, & 5 above). This proves that the Māhavaraja of the Khurda plates is not a different person from that of Mādhavarman alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II of the other plates (Nos. 3, 4, 5 and 6 above). On the basis of this theory I give below a chronological order of succession of the Śailodbhava kings of Koṅgada :—

The Śailodbhava kings	Dates	Their overlords, if any
(1) Dharmarāja of Abhayānvaya	Gupta-year 250 (A.D. 570)	Śrī Prthivīvīgraha, Lord of the Kalinga- Rāṣṭra.
His relationship with the other Śailod- bhava kings is not known		
(2) Aranabhīta.....	Not known	
(3) Śrī Sainyabhīta I, alias Mādhavaraja I— (son of no 1.)	Gupta-year 300 (A.D. 619-620)	Mahārājadhiraaja Śaśaṅka
(4) Ayaśobhīta I (born in the family of No. 3)	Not known	
(5) Śrī Sainyabhīta II, alias Mādhavarāja II, alias Śriannivāsa & Mādhavarman ... (son of No. 4)	Samvat 50 (probably the Harsha-era which corresponds to A.D. 656)	

- (6) Ayaśobhīta II, *alias*,
Madhyamarāja I.....Harsha Samvat 88
(son of No. 5) (A.D. 694)
- (7) Mādhavarāja (III)..... Not known
(son of No. 6)
- (8) Dharmarāja *alias*
Śrī Mānabhīta.....Harsha Samvat 10,
(the first son of No. 6) (A.D. 711)
- (9) Madhyamarāja II.....Not known
(son of No. 8)
- (10) Raṇakshobha..... Do.
(son of No. 9)
- (11) Allaparāja..... Do.
(the second son of
No. 9)
- (12) Yuvarāja Madhyama-
rāja III*... Do.
(son of No. 11)

I will now discuss about the date of the Śailodbhava kings of Kōṅgada with the materials now at our disposal. We have in possession of two grants of this dynasty which mention the Gupta year, viz: (1) the Sumaṇḍala copper-plate grant of Dharmarāja, a subordinate king under one Pṛthivīvīgraha who claims to be the ruler of the Kālīṅga Rāṣṭra, of the Gupta year 200 or A.D. 570, and (2) the Ganjam Copper-plate grant of Mādhavarāja, a subordinate king under Śaśāṅkarāja, who lived in the Gupta year 300 or A.D. 620. These are the two documents on which I am going to base my theory. Although the grant of Dharmarāja has not rendered any definite clue to determine about the family relationship with the donor or any other Sailodbhava kings of Kōṅgada, he used, like another subordinate king of the same locality (Kōṅgada), the Praśasti of his over-lord, beginning with the glorious epithet of "Chaturudadhi salila bīcī..." etc. and also used the Gupta Samvat. Therefore, in one of my papers on "The Gupta rule in Orissa" published in this Journal (Vol. I, No. 2). I have discussed the question as to how the donor of Sumaṇḍala plates should be taken as a member of the Śailodbhava family.

* The Sailodbhava dynasty seems to have been removed from Kōṅgada soon after the Bhauma-Kara dynasty captured the coastal districts of Puri, Cuttack and Balasore including a portion of Ganjam (Kōṅgada) in or about A.D. 736, as shown by me in a paper published in Vol. I, No. 3 of this Journal.

In the previous para I have already said that at first Mādhavarāja was a subordinate king under the powerful ruler named Śaśāṅka, who was defeated by Harshavardhana. He (Mādhavarāja), in his Khurda charter elevated his status and position by saying that he was the ruler of "Sakala Kalinga", the title which was previously used for Śrī Pṛthivivigraha by Dharmarāja in his Sumaṇḍala copper-plate grant. Therefore, it is quite plausible that after a crushing defeat of Śaśāṅka in the hands of Harsha, Mādhavarāja was appointed as the local ruler of Koṅgada as well as of Kalinga, although the political situation of these two countries were quite uncertain. Soon after this, say after 635 A. C., the Chālukyās have captured Veṅgī, a neighbouring country, while the Eastern Gaṅgas established their rule over Kalinga, for which reason Mādhavarman, in his subsequent grants, did not use the title of "Sakala-Kalingādhipati." These consequences are to be determined while considering about the prevalence of an unknown Samvat in the Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavarman. Most probably, the illustrious donor of that grant, Mādhavarman, must have remembered the sovereign status of Harsha for whose sake he could achieve his desired independence. So, it may not be considered as a farfetched view if I will say that the unknown Samvat which he used in his Orissa Museum plates is the Harsha-Samvat, which was started from A.D. 606. Basing on this theory I would say that there is only a difference of thirtysix years between the Ganjam plates and the Orissa Museum plates of Mādhavarman, alias Śrī Sainyabhīta II., i.e. from 620 to 656 A.D.

Now, let us consider about the declining period of the Sailodbhava kings. This point can be explained with the help of a piece of information given in the Tekkali plates of Yuvrāja Madhyamarāja III, the last known king of this dynasty. I stress upon the following verse of that inscription relating to the Praśasti of Allaparāja, grandson of Dharmarāja, who issued his Baṇapur charter in Samvat 105 or A. D. 711; if it is taken as Harsha-era :—

“तस्मिन्नराति तिमिर प्रसरं विमिश्र
कृत्वा जनस्य सकला मृदयेन चेष्टाम् ।
मस्तं समस्त जगदेक महाप्रदीपे
भूमि गते दिन कृतीन विजे नियोगात् ॥”

Translation :—

Like the only luminary of the whole of universe, the sun, while coming to the earth as per stipulation of the Creator

(Vidhātṛ) creates energy in people to work with vigour by destroying the growing darkness of the world, so also this king is born in this family elevating the same and creating energy among his subjects by destroying the enemies when the great king of the world (of his own kingdom) had passed away.

From the sense of this verse we may infer that the dynasty came to an end when the kingdom was surrounded by enemies, after the great powerful monarch had expired; at the time when Raṇakshobha was succeeded by his brother Allaparāja, who, according to the Tekkali plate, had to fight with his enemies in several battle fields.

While editing a copper-plate grant of Satrubhaṇja Deva, in this Journal (Vol. I, No. 3, P. 108-13) I have proved on astronomical grounds that the Bhauma-era was commenced in this country in A.D. 736. Now, if the unknown Saṃvat, used by Mādhavavarman as 50, by Madhyamarāja as 88 and by Dharmarāja as 105 in their respective charters is to be taken as the Harsha-era, then the reigning date of Dharmarāja will be attributed to 711 A.D. and that of his grandson, Allaparāja, will be about 730 A. D., having a reasonable margin of about twenty years between them. Basing on this analogy I am inclined to say that the Kōṅgada of the Śailodbhava dynasty did survive as an independent principality in between A.D. 630-730 tentatively.

It is not out of place here to mention that Kielhorn, while writing a note on the Buguda plates of Mādhavavarman remarks that the exact time of those plates from the characters "cannot be earlier than about the 10th century A.D., and that probably they are not much later," (E.I., Vol. VII, pp. 102).

Many scholars have been guided by this opinion of Kielhorn. I have given herein a palaeographical chart (see plate) to make a comparative study of all the copper-plate inscriptions of the Śailodbhava kings. The characters of Buguda plates are really different from that of the other plates of the same king, Mādhavavarman. So, I think that that grant was copied from an old record in the subsequent period, for which reason we may consider that it is spurious for historical purpose.

Dr. R. C. Majumdar, while writing an article on the 'Śailodbhava dynasty' concludes that there were two branches of rulers among the Śailodbhavas, as well as the Bhauma-Karas of

Toshali, who ruled the country between 550 A. D. and 1125 A. D. as arranged below :—

- C. 550-700 A. D.—Early Śailodbhavas
 - C. 700-825 A. D.—Earlier Karas
 - C. 825-1000 A. D.—Later Śailodbhavas
 - C. 1000-1125 A. D.—Later Karas."
- (Vide J.A.H.R.S., Vol. X, pp. 6)

I am afraid that Dr. Majumdar was mis guided by the palaeographical confusion prevailed in the Buguda plates of Mādhavarāja. Similarly, the Ganjam plates of Daṇḍi Mahādevī of Kara-dynasty creates confusion in our mind regarding thier time on palaeographical basis. The only solution to this problem is that these inscriptions are to be taken as documents copied in the subsequent period by some interested persons who were then enjoying the lands granted to their fore-fathers by some former rulers. If we accept the theory of Dr. Majumdar, then it will be hard for us to explain about the existance of the Somavamśī kings who ruled over the coastal tracts of Orissa before the Gaṅgas.

In conclusion, I would like to say that a king named Mura is said to have helped Mādhavavarman to achieve the royal supermacy. It is not known who that Mura was; nor we are able to identify the kings named Varamora and Lokanātha. The later was a friend of Mādhavavarman as maintained in the Orissa Museum plates. In the Tipperah copper-plate grant of Lokanātha we come accross that name. In that inscription mentioned is made that the king Lokanātha fought against one Jayatuṅga Varsha, whose identity also is not known. (Vide E. I., Vol. XV pp. 307). But, from other sources we understand that some Śulkī-rulers of Orissa have used the titled of Tuṅga and that a dynasty of that name was ruling in Orissa. They were ruling in the Kodālaka Maṇḍala. Anyway, there is no evidence to prove that Lokanātha's target, Jaya Tuṅga was a member of the Śulkī or Tuṅga-family of Orissa. We are not able to identify at prasent whether Lokanatha of the Tipperah plates was the same person as mentioned in the Orissa State Museum plates of Mādhavavarman. The name Varamora sounds like 'Paramāra', which was a dynasty living in Mālava in the Medieval age i.e. from the 7th. century A. D. onwards. In that dynasty there was no prominent kings who might have received compliment in the Prasastis of the Śailodbhava kings of Orissa. The only contact which the Śailodbhavas had, as known from the

descriptions of Huen-Tsang, is Śīlāditya Harshavardhana the king of Kanauj who conquered Koṅgada and subjugated that territory at the time when the Chinese traveller had passed that kingdom in or about A. D. 638. (Vide Itinery of Huen Tsang, Watters, pp. 335). It appears that Harsha made a second raid over Koṅgada in or about 642 A. D. when the Chinese traveller was halting at Nālanda. Under such circumstance it is presumed that the nominee of Harsha, i.e. Mādhavavarman, after the defeat of Śaśāṅka was declared as the ruler of the countries of Koṅgada and Kalinga. But, soon after Harsha's return from Koṅgada, the Eastern Gaṅgas of Kalinga must have created troubles in that part of the kingdom for which sake Harsha's presence was required, and he might have relitred at least a portion of the territory i. e. Koṅgada for Mādhavavarman from the grips of his anemies viz. the Gaṅgas; after which action Mādhavavarman discontinued the use of the glorious title of "Sakala-Kaliṅgādhipati" as he did in his Puri, Buguda and Purushottampur plates. In token of greatfulness to the king of Kanauj, Mādhavavarman had introduced the Harsha-Samvat in his Orissa Museum plates.

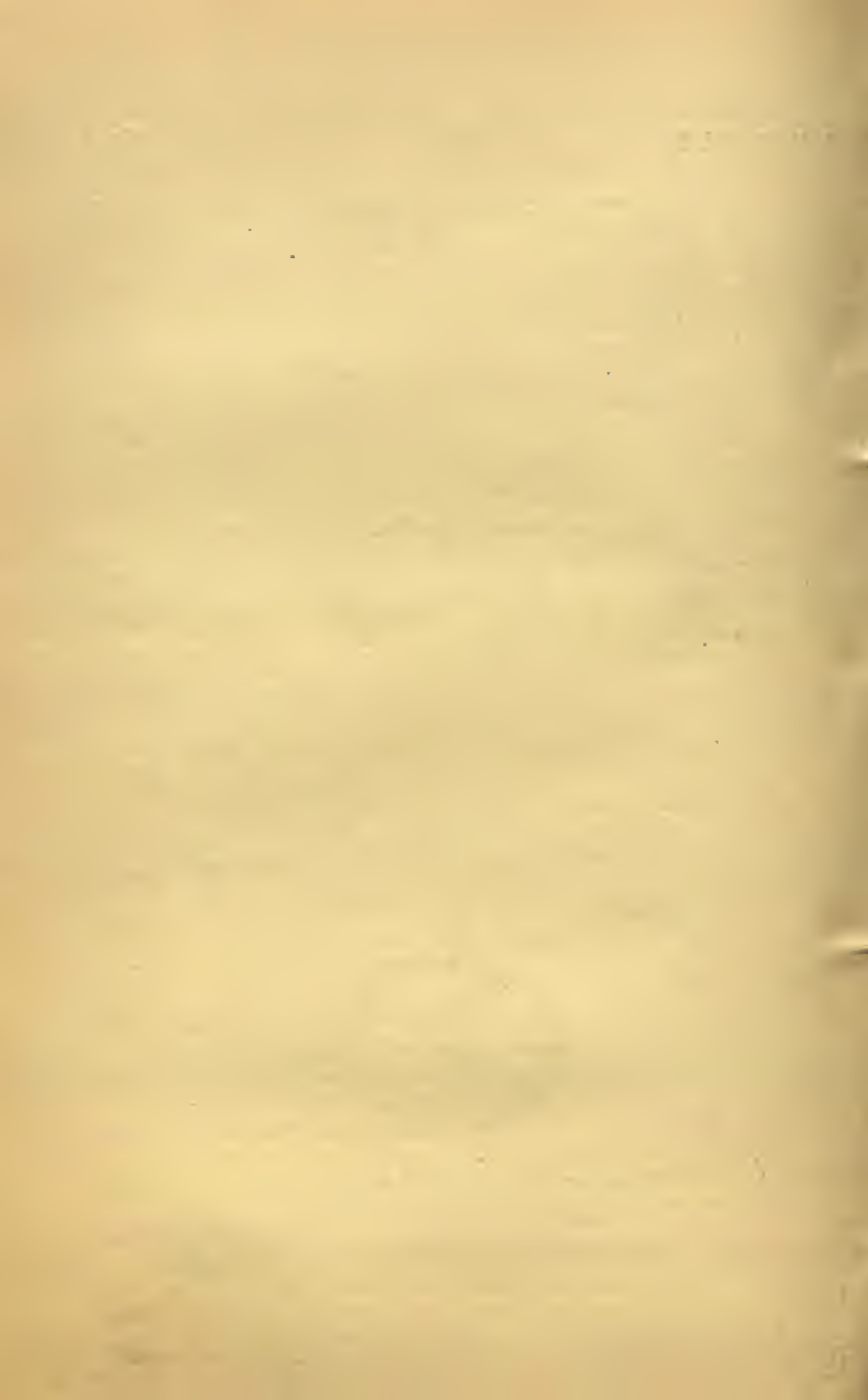
The topographical aspect of these copper-plate grants are not dealt with as the villages mentioned in them have not been identified by me.



The Orissa Museum copper-plate grant of Mādhava-varman
First Plate (reverse)



The seal of the Orissa Museum plate of Mādhava-varman



No. 1

The Orissa Museum Plates of Mādhava-varman

TEXT.

1st Plate (Reverse)

Plate 18B and the seal

El. XXII
1811

1. Om Svasti [II] Indor-dhauta mṛṇāla-tantubhir-iva śliṣṭaḥ
karaḥ komalair-vvaddhācer-aruṇaḥ.
2. sohuratphana maṇau(na)-r-digdha prabhāsomśubhāḥ [I]
Pārvatyā sakacha gāha vyatikara vyāvṛtta vandhaḥ.
3. ślathā gaṅgāmbhaḥ plati bhina bhama kapikāḥ
Śambhor-jatāḥ pāntavaḥ [II] Prāchyāmbhoniḍhiruddha.
4. sānur-atulaḥ pushya (sapa) dramālī vṛaḥ syanda-
nirjjhara vāḍidārta darī pāta-kāla-njvanaḥ [I].
5. svānt-trasta patatūri valga virutair-āpūritāntar-ṛhaḥ
śāiman-merur-ivodgataḥ kulagiriḥ.
6. khyāto Mahendra kshitau [I] Pāṇśur-ammabebha kara-
pivara chāruvāhuḥ kṛṣṇāśma.
7. sañchaya vibheda viśāla vakṣaḥ [I] Rājīva komala
dalāyata lochanāntaḥ kayātaḥ.
8. Kalingajanaiṣu Pulindaseuḥ [II.] Tenettham gupisā-pi
satva mahatā-nestṭam bhuvo maṇḍalam.
9. śakto yaḥ paripātanāya jagataḥ konā na sasyā-l-iti [I]
Pratyādis. ṭi vibhutsavena bhagavān (n).
10. nā-ādhitāḥ śāśvataḥ tacchittā m guṇam vidhistur-adiś-
vāñchhām svayamb-ūr-api [II]. loka prāṇi.
11. vāhyāḥ : śakala śiśīlā saṃpūṣāḥ-pra-ūta iva deva
kumārān-yatamobhara (p) nirmāṇa tato dṛṣṭāḥ [II]
12. Sopyāścharya manobhavādhipatinā prāṇ-prasādekṣaṇam
bhītodbhṛānta savismaya si (sthi)ti.

2nd Plate (Obverse)

Plate 19

13. maṇā sambhāvyā saumyam vapuḥ [I] Bhūtanandakarḥ
kṛtascha vijayī Śailodbhava-kṣaṇāpatḥ śāśīa dushpaṇi.

(1) The meaning here is not clear.

14. gāminām sukṛtīnām ropīva dharmmah svayam [II]
Śailedbhava iti khyātas-tato vamsaḥ subhakshito [I]
utsavā.
15. tīfaya sthānam-adbhutānā r-ivādbhuta(m). [II] Śailed-
bhavasya kul-jorapabhīta āsīd yenāsakṛt kṛta bhiyām.
16. dv's ad aṅ atānām [I] Jyotiṣā pravodha samayo
svadhiyaiva sārddham (rudha m-ākampito noyana
pakṣma j beshu.
17. enandrah. [II] Tasyābhavadvivandhupāla samasya sūnuḥ Śī
Sainyabhlita iti b ūmipariga lyaṇ I.
18. Yamprī j yanaila śatanā r ghoṣā vighaṭṭa-lavdha prasāla
vijīyam nūndu- haritiri (m). Tasyā.
19. vāpīta yai ātha pānā jāto yasobhā iti kshītīśch [II]
Yeta j rāṭṭ oṣī śīhaśca itirir- mṛṭṭ h kalamkāḥ
kalāṅjap masya. [I]
20. jātasa tāya tanayassul pī samasta jīmanti
21. nī m yam- śatpēda- updaikāḥ [I] Śī Sainyabhlita iti
lū ūmipatim nababha kul. bāśhālī dalara durilali—
22. tā-iel ān h. [II] Jā cha yema kamālākavav-svagoṭtram-
ma ī itam dīakṛteva sahodayena [I] Śī mksh pta.
23. māṇḍala rucī śha sūatāḥ prapāśm-āśudvisho grahagaṇā
iva yasya dīptā [II] Kākyair-bhūta dātū.
24. vatibhir-upachātāka j āpāvātār- yeshām mīā kathā³
paprāyām abhinatā hīti.
25. nātāir- s jīstam [I] Yagñak- air-Aśvamedha prabhītibhir-
asakṛt mapyatishīta-avalnī⁴ s. lī-ām tīptam surāpām.

2nd Plate (Reverse)

Plate 20

26. pratikata balavat-chhattropakshena yena [II] Mādhava mura
vilīta sūtitir-ambuda mṛn ukta chandra sita kīrtiḥ.
27. s. Śī Mādhavava mṇā riptu āratighaṭṭanāḥ kuśalī. [II]
Vis ayosmī [I] Jayajure vartimāna bhavīśyātā.
- [28. dvijātī j ūrevo nṛpatīn-rāja sthānīyo samyutāḥ. [II] kumāra-
nāyam āyuktāt ka- nopa- kām- api
29. tathā janapadam sarvva-m-āyatyārurupūrvyataḥ [II]⁵
viditam-asu Lhavaīām-etad-Vishaya s a m v a d d h a
Vyāgrapara.

1. Read kām-darpatasya.

3. A gap is left between the letters "Tha" and "pi". It appears that the 'ya-matra' of the previous line which covers a little space in the line No. 24 has caused the engraver to leave this gap.

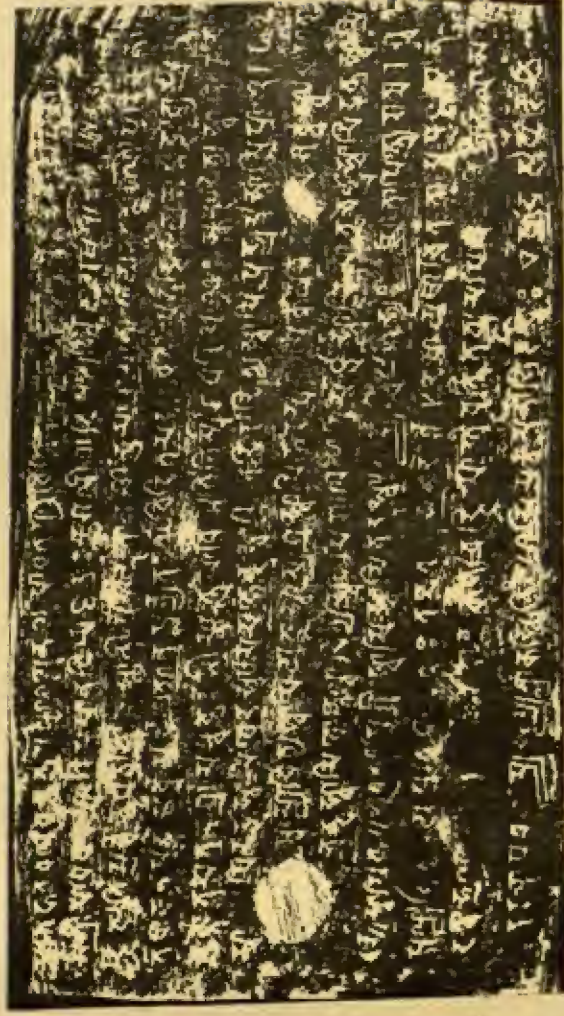
4. In other records of this dynasty this portion of the Prasasti follows by the phrase: "Prabhītibhir-amara lambkitas-triptim utrim." The present composition is not giving clear meaning of the sloka.

5. Probably the correct phrase is: "Janapadan Sarvva samahaya sampujyati."



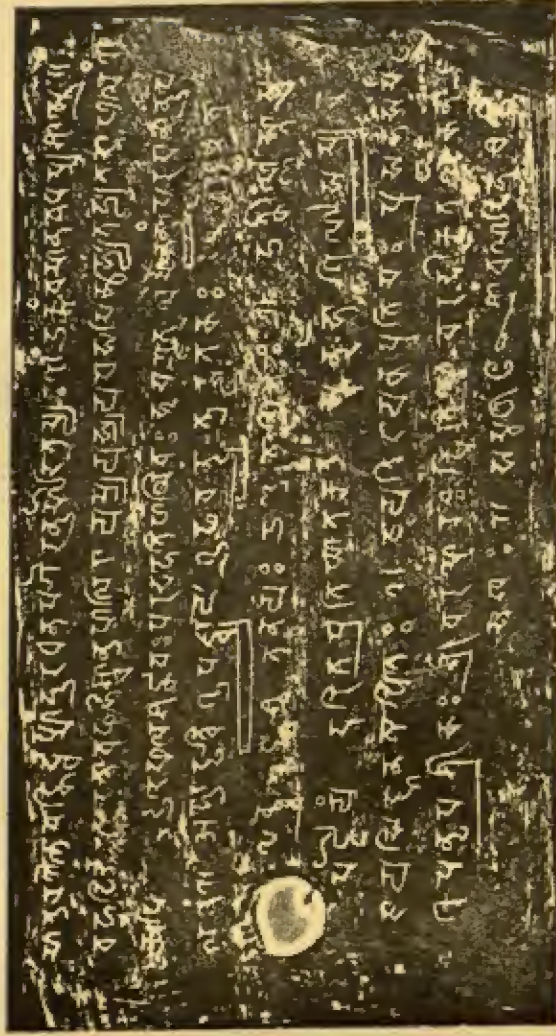
The Orissa Museum copper-plate grant of Madava-varman

Second Plate (obverse)

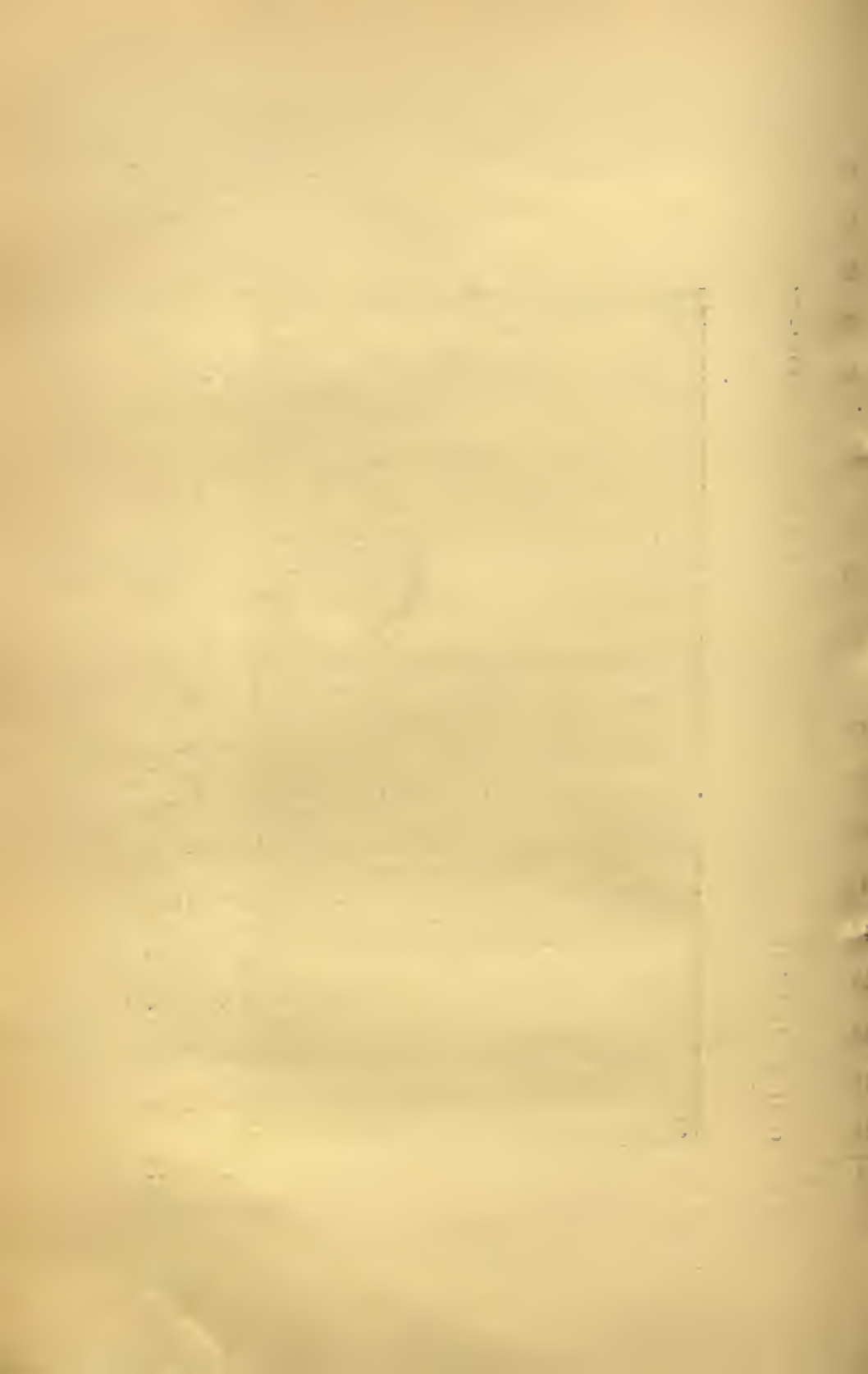


The Orissa Museum copper-plate grant of Madhava-varman
Second Plate (reverse)





The Orissa Museum copper-plate grant of Mādhava-varman
Third Plate (obverse)



30. Bhuktāu Tamataḍa grāmaś-chaṭuḥśannāṭtra-ye(yo)
Vimśati Timpīra jarināṇaḥ Skandāditya Svāmi Rudra
31. Svāmi Dadda Svāmi Veda Svāmi Mahendra Svāmi
Khadirāditya Svāmi Pradyumna Svāmi Paṇḍaromī
32. Svāmy Āditya Svāmi Yajña Svāmy-Ugra Svāmi
Chharampa Svāmi Kayavara Svāmi Śarvva Svāmi Mī
33. Chandra Svāmi Vontālvāditya Svāmi Gola Sēvāni Māva
Svāmi Mā rchandra Svāmi Datta Svāmi
34. Dharmma Svāmi Va(Vā)ma Ieva Svāmi Śrī Svāmi
Svāmichandra Svāmibhyo dvijātibhyaḥ mī.āpittor-
āt nanaś-cha.
35. Puṇyābhivṛdha (ddha) ye pratipālitaḥ tadevachā (tā) sa-
saṁ darśinā. l-eshāṁ yathochitaṁ tāmbra (mta) paṭṭa
dānam.
36. chaivā bhūṇḍā (dā) nānāṁ dharmma-muravāt na kena-
chudvighātaḥ [r] vaṭṭitavyam-api cha. [II] Vidyadvīpa
37. tara'ām-avagamyā samyag lokasthitaṁ yosasi-nakta
manobhir-uchchaitḥ [I] esha dvijāya kṛti.

3rd Plate (Obvo 53)

Plate 21

38. Mā uratāir-bhavadbhi [h] ddhar-mmānurodhanaḥ pa-vira-
moditāvyaḥ [m] [I] Uktamcha Mā rve dhar-mmā Śīstro. II
39. Vahubhis-vasudhā-tattā vahubhis-cha upālita [I] yasya
yasya yadā bhūmis-tasya tasya tadā paalam [II]
40. Apī[cha] Mā hūda paśāṁkā vaḥ paśadātāti pā-thivā [I]
Svadā āt-phalam-Iraṇṭyam paśadā dāna pā -
41. lene. [II] Ābhūd-ṭvīg-upādāyāya-Gahacandrotara dūtakaḥ
likhito -
42. pendra Simhaścha tanayaḥ Kuṇḍabhoginaḥ. [II] Utkīraṇa-
tāma.
43. Paṭṭoyam durita pratighātakṛt [II] Skanda Bhogiṇā
samyaka.
44. Jaya Simhena tāpitaḥ [II] Jayati Jayanta pratimaḥ sapracha
samākṛtiḥ.
45. ripu nṛpī śīlkaḥ Śī Vamoraḥ kshītīpo-varadīkṛta
Lokañātha-
46. sakhaḥ. [II] Samvat 10 Śrāvapā dina*

* The date is not completely given.

Purushottampur Copper Plate grant of Mādhava-varman
TEXT.

1st plate (Reverse)

Plate 2 and the seal

1. Om, Svasti [ii] Indor dīdhautā mṛgāla tantubhir-ivāh[va]
śī (śī) śhā [h] arai [h] komalai [r vaddhā.
2. hiraṇyā [h] sp urit phāṇamānai [h] digdha [pra]
b ā so (śo) [mṣubhih] [I] Pāvatyā sakachakra
3. ha vvaī kara vyāvṛta van lva śhathā Gaṅgāmbha [h]
pātī [bhūna] blasma kan l ā Ś [mbho]—
4. r-j iā [h] j āntavah. [iI] Ś ī ān uccair-nabha-sto (stho)
gurur-accala pate k hūtraj (ji) d-ya (da) ksha dīa mma.
5. gan bhīrī stova āśī (śe) ratha dīva [sa] karad bhāsva
cāl kākārī [I] Āhlōī sarvva—
6. [ya c] ndos t (t i) bhuvana bho [bha] vana prerakas-
cāpi vāyo Rājā sa sthānu mū—
7. riti [-ja] yati kalimāla kshālano Mādhavendraḥ [II] Prāmsur-
mmahebhā ka a
8. jīvara chā u vāhu kṛṣṇāśma sañchaya vibheda vishā
(śā) la vaksha (ā) ājīva.
9. komala dalāyata lochanānto (iaḥ) khyātah Kālinga janatāsu
Pulinda—
10. śnāh. [II] Tena (ne) ttham guṇināpi satva mahatām neshtam
bhuvor-mma (ma) ndalam śa [kto]—
11. yam (yah) paripālānāya jagataḥ konāma sasyād-iti [I]
pra [tyādīshṭa vibho].
12. tsvana bhagavā ā ādhita [m] sā (śā) śvata [h] tacchitā
(tā) nu guṇam [vidhīsur-a]—

2nd plate (obverse)

Plate 23

13. [dj] śad-vāmehhām svayambho [r-āpi] II. Sa śilā śakalod-
bhedi [unā] ālokyā.
14. dhīmāā [p-ri] kalpita ta d-vamś [h] prabho Śailodbhava
kṛtaḥ [I] Śailodbhava ya ku [lajo Ra]—
15. nābī lā śid-ya nāsakṛt kṛabhiyām dvishad-aṅganāna [m] [I]
jo [jyo]—
16. tsnā pravodha samaye svā(a) dhiye(yai) va' sārddham-
ākampito nayara pakshma-jt—

1. Read "Hladi".

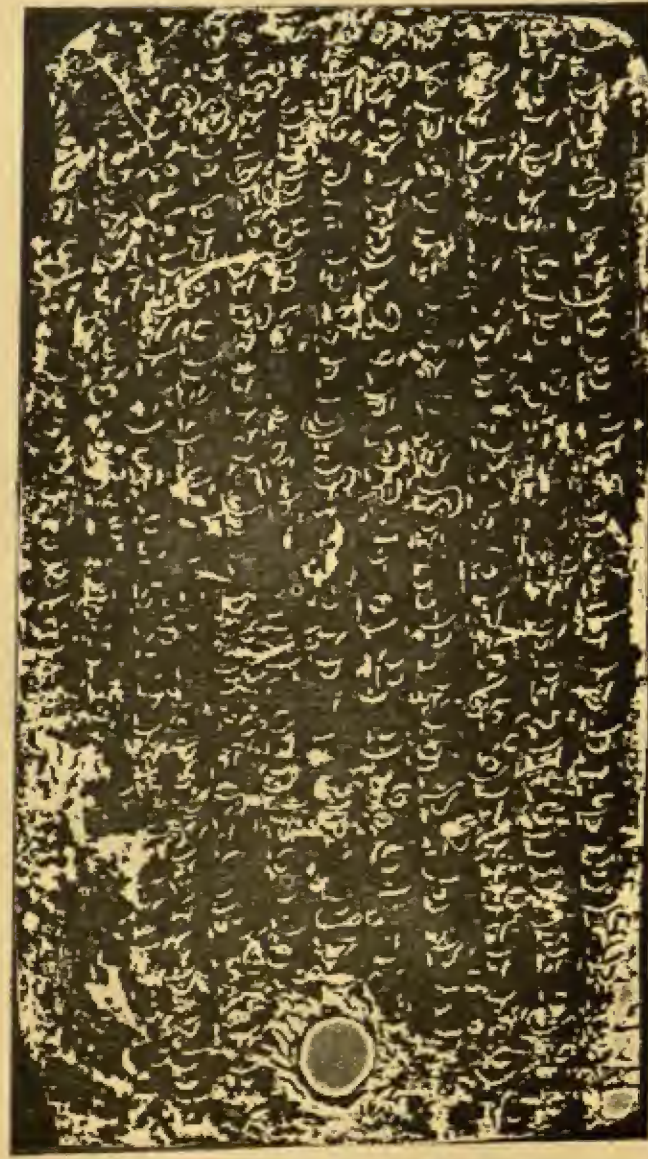
2. After the letter 'va' there is a symbol like 2 after which the 'r'-matra in the letter 'tkr' of the previous line (line no. 15) is written. This proves that the symbol 2 denotes a mark indicating the addition of letters in the line.



The Purushottampur Copper-plate grant of Mādhava-varman
First Plate (rever o)



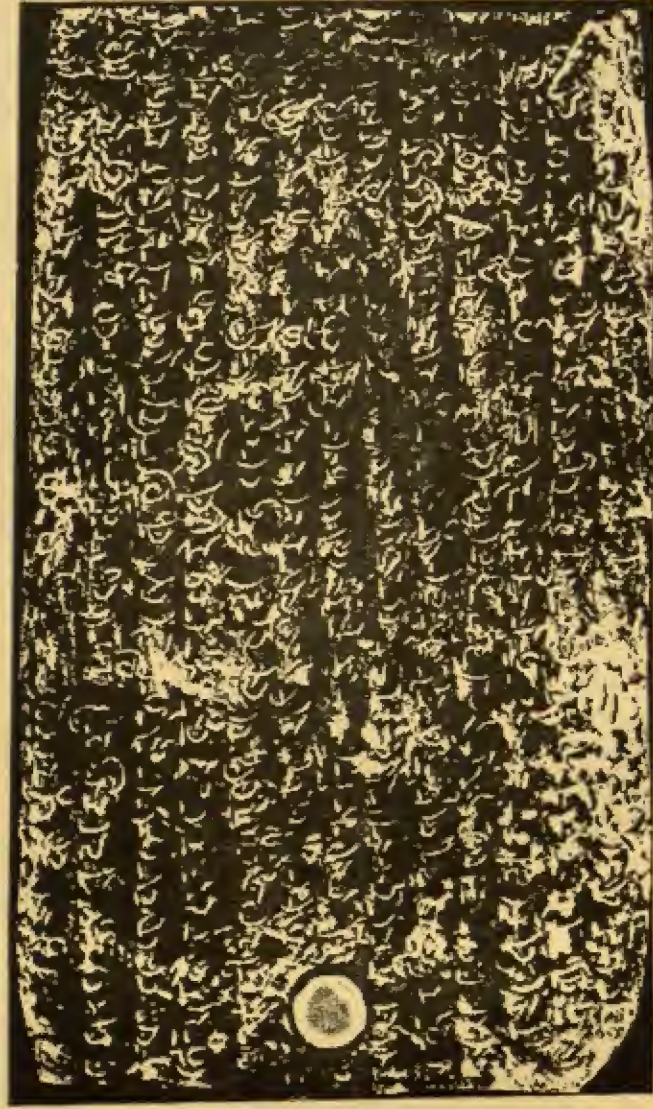
Seal of the Purushottampur C. P. grant of Mādhava-varman
(Sri Saiyabrtasya)



The Purushottampur Copper-plate grant of Mādhava-varman
Second Plate (obverse)

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The Purushottamjūr Copper-plate grant of Mādhava-varman
Second Plate (reverse)



17. leshu chandrah [II] Tasyolhavad-vivudhapāla samasya
sūnu (h) Śrī Sainyabhī—
18. ta () ti bhūmipatir-mahabha. [I] Yam prāpyana(ne)ka
śata nāga ghaṭṭā (ṭā) bigḷaṭṭa la[vdha]
19. prasāda vijayam-mumude dharittuī (m) [II] Jasyāpi vamsē
[tha] yatīārtha nāmā jā—
20. to-yośobhita iti kshiti (ī) śah [I] yena prarūḍho-pi Śubhais-
chiri—
21. ttrair-mrshṭa[h] Kalāṅka [h] kali darppanasya [II]
Jātasva tasya tanaya[h] [u] kṛī.
22. (kṛti)³ samanta sīmantūḥ nayana shaṭpada puṇḍarikah [II]
Śrī sainyabhī—
23. ta iti bhūmipatir-mmahabha kumbhaasthalī [dalana du]
r-la'ī (li) tāsī dhārah [ii] Jāte—
24. na yena kamalākara vat sva goṭtam-unmilitam dinakṛteva
ma—

2nd plate (Reverse)

Plate 24

25. hodayena [I] Samkskhipta maṇḍala ruchaścha gatā [h]
prapāṇa (ś.)m-āśudvi-sho gra—
26. ha gaṇā iva yasya dīptyā [II] Kālai yair-bhūta dhātrīpati
[bhi] -upachitā—
27. neka pa (ā) pāvātāro (ai) [r]-nītā yeshām kathā-pi
pralayam-abhimatā kī—
28. rtti mālair-ajasra [m] [I] Yajñairs-tair-Āśvamedha prabhṛti-
bhīr-amarā lambhitās-tr—
29. ptimūrvīm-udrptā-rātī paksha kshaya kṛti paṭunā
Śrīnivāsena yena [II] Kaṇo—
30. da kr-a niketa śa(ā)rada niśākara mari(ī)chi sita kīrtte [h]
śah Mādhava.
31. Varmanā khyāta vi [kramah] kuśalī [II] Asmin Koṅgada
Maṇḍale sarva.
32. Sāmanta Mahā Sāmanta Mahārāja Rājaputtra [A] ntaraṅga
Daṇḍapās (ś)ika [Dau vā]—
33. rika [Vi] shayapati tad-Āyuktaka [h] varttamāna bhavishya
[n] Vyavahāriṇe (ṇah)
34. sakaraṇā[n]yathār-ham Pūjaya[ti]mānayati viditam astu(II)
Deva—
35. grāma Vishaya samavaddhaḥ Amba grāmoyam chātu [h]
sīmpalakshitaṇcha
36. Mudgalyasa gottra [Śunkarā ?] bhadra-nupravara
Chhandoga (gya) charaṇāya Bhaṭṭa Nā—
37. [rā] ya [nāyā]-smin-mātā [pittro]r-ātmanaścha puṇyā vi
(bhi) vṛddhave saliladhārā.

3rd plate (obverse)

Plate 23

38. [puraḥ] sareṇā-chand-ārka kṣitī(i) sema kālo (lam)
[pratipādito]-smābhiḥ yataścha-tā nra paṭṭa
39. [kam] darśanā (t) dharmma gauravā (t) ena kālo kālo nna
(na) āṇā-pi na kaisid-a [pi pari-pi]—
40. ntni nā bhavitavyam-iti [I] Uktaricha Mānave dharmma
śāstre [ii] Vabuṇhi-vvasudhā da—
41. uā rājabhis-Sagarā-dibhiḥ yasya [yasya] yadā bhūmi (a)
tasya tasya tadā phala [m].
42. [Mābhūda pha] la Śaṅkāva [h] paradā (da) ttoti pārtthivā
[h] svadānāt-phalam-ānantyam para [d]—
43. uā nupālāne [I] Svadattāṃ-paradattam-vā yo hara (re)ti
vasundha-ā [m] sa vi—
44. [shṭhā yām kṛmī]-bhūtvā pitṛbhis-saha pachyato [I]
Likhito- Pendra [Simhe]
45. na [ta] nayah Kuṇḍa Bhojinā lāñchhita [m] Jaya Simhena
utkirṇa chhe (cham) ṇḍi [Bho]
46. gi [nā] [II] Dūtaka (o) Gaṅgabhadra [ścha] Pratibāryo
vyavasthitah [I]* 10.3 [ii]



The Purushottampur Copper-plate grant of Mādhava-varman
Third Plate (obverse)



The Purport of Grant No. I

After the usual family Prasasti*

LI. 26-33:—Mādhavavarman, who was favoured by Mura (?) (and) spread his glory like the moon which has become free from the darkness of clouds (and who) has tumbled down the greatness of his enemies is well.

In the District (Vishaya) of Jayapura,† the present and the future officers, who are attached to the Rājasthāna (Government) (such as) the Kumāras, the Amātyas, the Āyuktakas, the Karakas and also all the inhabitants (of the locality) are hereby informed that the village named Tamatadā of the Vyāghrapura-Buktī, attached to this Vishaya and consisting of twenty-three Timpiras of land is granted by us in favour of (the following) Brahmanas:—

(1) Skandāditya Svāmin, (2) Rudra Svāmin (3) Dadda Svāmin (4) Veda svāmin (5) Mahendra Svāmin (6) Khadirāditya Svāmin (7) Pradyumna Svāmin (8) Pānderamātr Svāmin (9) Āditya Svāmin (10) Jajña Svāmin (11) Ugra Svāmin (12) Chharampa Svāmin (13) Kayavara Svāmin (14) Sarva Svāmin (15) Mātṛchandra Svāmin (16) Bontalvādity Svāmin (17) Gola Svāmin (18) Mādhva Svāmin (19) Mātṛchandra Svāmin (20) Datta Svāmin (21) Dharmma Svāmin (22) Vāmadeva Svāmin (23) Śrī Svāmin and (24) Svāmichandra Svāmin.

(After this follow the imprecatory and benedictory verses, quoted from the Mānava-Dharma Śāstra)

LI. 41-46:—There lived a R̥tvik Upādhyāva (named) Cuhachandra (who is) the Dūtaka. (It is) written by Upendra Simha, son of Kuṇḍabhogin, and engraved by Skanda Bhogin (and) heated by Jaya Simha. After this the following verse is mentioned:—

“जयति जयन्त प्रतिमः सप्रभ समाकृष्ट रिपुन्प श्रीकः ।

श्रीवर मोरः क्षितिपो वरदीकृत लोकनाथ सखः” ॥

* I did not give the translation of the family Prasasti of the Sailodbhavas, which is generally mentioned in all the grants of this dynasty, because I have already rendered the necessary translation of the same while editing the Puri plates of Dharmaraja (J.B. R.S., Vol. XVI, P. 173) and the Banapur plates of Madhysmaraja (J.K.H.R.S., Vol. II, No. i, pp. 59-65)

† In the genealogical account as maintained by the Raj family of Jaypur of the Keraut District, we find that the family was descended for one who belonged to the Saila dynasty. It seems that the place name of Jayapura in this copper-plate may have some connection with that tradition.

Translation—Let the prosperity goes to the king Varamora (who is) like Jayanta, (son of Indra, the lord of Heaven,) (who has) rapidly attracted (with his own prowess) the 'Śrī' (fortune) of the enemy-kings (to his side); (and who is) the friend of the blessed Lokanātha.

The (grant is made) in Samvat 50, Srāvaṇa, Dina, 20.3.

The purport of grant No. II

After the usual family Prasasti of the Śailodbhava kings, begining from Pulindasena upto Mādhavavarman, alias Śrī Sainyabīṭa (II), the document runs as given below :—

LI. 31-34—Be it known to you all, the illustrious Sāmantas, Mahā-Sāmantas, Rājaputras, Antarāṅgas, Daṇḍa-pāśikas, Dauvārikas, Vishayapat s, Niyuktakas together with the present and the future Vyāvahārin and the Karaṇas of our Koṅgida-Maṇḍala that :—

LI. 34-40—We grant, free of all sorts of duties, the village (named) Amba Grāma with all its four boundaries, which is attaced to the District (Vishaya) of Deva-grāma-Vishaya, to the Brahmin (named) Nārāyaṇa, who belonged to the Maudgala Gotra, (Śaṅkara) bhātra (?) Anu Pravara, (and) Chhandogya Charaṇa, with a libation of water to increase the merit of our father, mother and of our own self, till the existance of the sun and the moon, (and) none should cause obstruction to this religious grant of ours when this copper-plate grant was produced.

After this, the usual verses from the Mānava-Dharmaśāstra have been quoted

LI. 44-46 :—The text of the grant is composed by Upendra Siṃha, son of Kuṇḍabhogin, and the charter was marked or sealed by Jayasimha and incised by Chandabhogin. This has been published by Gaṅgabhadrā, the Pratihārin, in Samvat 13.

BARGARH COPPER PLATE OF MAHARAJA NARAYAN SINGH OF SAMBALPUR.

By Sri G. S. Das and Sri S. C. De

See Plate 26.

The Copper plate under reference was published in the *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society* Vol XVIII. Since then some important documents bearing on the history of Chauhan dynasty of Sambalpur have been discovered. They provide some new facts relating to the dynasty. Hence we re-edit the copper plate with a view to bring out its historical significance in the light of the facts discovered.

The copper plate is a single piece with 16 lines of inscriptions on the obverse and 9 lines on the reverse. It measures 3.37" in length and 2.25" in breadth. A ring was attached to it through a hole in a small projection at the top of the plate. There is a symbol of *Chakra* carved in low relief at the top on the obverse side representing the crest of the family. Attached to it on the right side there is another small symbol which probably represents the king's banner.

The copper plate is in possession of Sri Rushabha Kar, B.L. a prominent member of the Bargarh Bar. It was brought on loan from him by Sri Das for examination and was returned to the owner after the photographs were taken.

The inscription is written in Oriya character of the 19th century. Some of the letters are of the Karani type used in courts for writing official documents. The letters are clearly written rendering decipherment rather easy.

The language is Oriya throughout excepting a Sanskrit imprecatory verse at the end. The text contains a number of Persian words which, by long use, had been naturalised and included in the Oriya vocabulary by the 19th century. These words have been dealt with in the foot-notes.

Orthography. The inscription contains many orthographical mistakes. Such mistakes are commonly met with in the Oriya inscription of the 15th and the 16th centuries. Some of the orthographical mistakes found in the inscription under reference are noted below :—(1) Initial *ā* has been used in place of medial *ā*, viz., '*goutya ā*' (1.3.4). (2) *ī* has been used for *i* in many places, viz., '*Jibaru*' (1.10). (3) Wrong sibilants have been used at places, viz., '*Sira*' (1. 5).

The Orthographical mistakes have been corrected in their proper places.

Date The copper plate was issued on the third day of the week (Tuesday) of the 7th day of bright fort-night of the month of Mārgaśīra in the *Samvat*, 1901. Since the donor, Maharaja Nārāyaṇa Singha of Sambalpur, is known to have ruled from 1833 to 1849, the era used is evidently Vikram era. Thus, *Samvat*, 1901 will correspond to 1843 A. D. According to Sri G. Ram Das's calculation, 7th *tithi* of the bright half of the month of Mārgaśīra fell on Tuesday on 28th November, 1843 A.D.

It is recorded in the copper plate that the village Bargarh was granted to two brothers Nārāyaṇa Dāsa *gaontia* and Kṛṣṇa Dāsa *gaontia*, son of Bāluki Dāsa by Maharaja Nārāyaṇa Singha Deva in recognition of the loyal service of the donces and also their father who laid down his life for the king.

The donor of the copper plate is Maharaja Nārāyaṇa Singha Deva. He was the last Maharaja of Sambalpur of the Chauhan dynasty. He was raised to the Gadi of Sambalpur on the 11th October, 1833.¹ He died issueless in 1849, and after him, Sambalpur was annexed to the British India in pursuance of Lord Dalhousie's famous, 'Doctrine of Lapse'. Thus Sambalpur lost its separate existence as an Indian State.

The reign of Nārāyaṇa Singha Deva constitutes one of the most chaotic period in the annals of Sambalpur. After the death of Mahārāja Sāi in 1827, his widow, Rani Mohana Kumārī assumed the reigns of the State. But her assumption of power was deeply resented by Surendra Sāi who, by virtue of his descent from the direct line (vide Appendix I), claimed the throne.

1. *The Bengal & Agra Annual Guide and Gazetteer for 1841*, Vol. II, P. 313.
2. *Sambalpur District Gazetteer 1932*, p. 31.

He unfurled the banner of rebellion and was joined by the Gond and Binjhal Zamindars who were discontented by the Rani's partiality towards her favourites. Plunder, loot and murder became rife; at last the British authorities had to take steps for maintenance of peace and order in the State. Lieutenant Higgins and Captain Wilkinson put down the rebellion. For ensuring peace in future, it was decided to depose the Rani. Accordingly Rani Mohan Kumāri had to make room for Nārāyaṇa Singha, one of the descendants of the royal family (vide Appendix I). Major Markham Kittoe who visited Sambalpur in May 1838, wrote as follows: "Sumbulpore", he says, "lapsed to the British Government in 1827 by the death of the late Raja, but for some reason they sought for an heir-at-law and conferred it on an obscure and aged zamindar, and a perfect imbecile, who is now entirely in the hands of his crafty ministers. These people and the Brahmans possess the best lands and obtain his sanction to all kinds of extortion: the farmers in their turn grind their royts the effects of such an unjust and oppressing system are everywhere apparent."

×

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However it may be, the choice of Nārāyaṇa Singha as the successor of Mahārāja Sāi has far-reaching effects. Immediately chaos broke out again in complete frustration of the hope of the British authorities for lasting peace. Though, for the time being they remained quite aloof throwing the whole burden on the newly set-up ruler, they could not however escape the consequences of their own wrong choice as will be seen herein-after.

So, Surendra Sāi again came forward to claim the throne. He looked upon Nārāyaṇa Singha as an usurper. As a matter of fact, both Surendra Sāi and Nārāyaṇa Singha stood almost on the same footing in respect of their claims to the Gadi. Surendra Sāi traced his descent to the 4th king of Sambalpur, while Nārāyaṇa Singha was a descendant of the 5th king (vide Appendix I).

There can be no doubt about the fact that the setting up of Nārāyaṇa Singha, an aged imbecile man, in preference to Surendra Sāi, an energetic and forceful personality with strong popular support, was a piece of political blunder on the part of the British authorities. It is not definitely known why Surendra

Sāi's claim was not considered by the British authorities, but it is a fact that, for some reason his claim was deliberately overlooked when Nārāyaṇa Siṃgha was set up. We may assume that Surendra Sāi's rebellion against Rani Mohan Kumārī, as matter of fact, against the British was the reason of hostile attitude of the authorities towards him. Had they conciliated Surendra Sāi by conferring the administration of Sambalpur on him, the trouble they experienced on account of him for five critical years from 1857-62 A. D. could have been obviated. They virtually courted the trouble by their short-sighted and prejudiced act. The same short sighted policy of the British authorities in respect of Jagabandhu Vidyādhara and the Paiks of Orissa had involved them in serious trouble only four decades before; but they did not profit by the lesson of history; so they had to experience the troubles they had courted over again.

So far as Maharaja Nārāyaṇa Siṃgh's reign is concerned, he spent the last 9 years of his reign in comparative peace, because, Surendra Sāi was arrested in 1840 A. D. on account of the cold-blooded murder of the Zamindar of Rampur and was sent to Hazaribagh Jail as a life prisoner. He remained in Jail till 1857 when he was released by the mutineers of Dinapore⁴.

It is interesting to note here that the copper plate is issued in recognition of the service of a loyal servant who lost his head in service, and hence, the copper plate is termed 'sīrakatā' or head chopped off. Cutting off of head either by ruler's party, or by the insurgents, was common in those days. Kittce, in 1938, found three human heads stuck on a pole at the junction of two roads near the town; their owners forfeited them for treason⁵.

There seems some confusion in the last portion of the genealogical table of the Chauhan Rulers of Sambalpur now preserved in the office of the Dy. Commissioner Sambalpur after Abhaya Siṃgha vide Appendix I). The following list of kings of Sambalpur is mentioned in an Oriya history book relating to Kosala or Sambalpur⁶.

Abhay Siṃgha.....1766-1777 A.D.
Balabhadra Sāi 1777-1782 A.D.

4. *Ibid*, p. 3.

5. *Ibid*, p. 32-33.

6. Sriramachandra Mallik, *Samkshipta Kosala or Sambalpur Itihasa* 1931, pp-189-206.

Jayanta Singha.....	1782-1818 A.D.
Mahārāja Sāl.....	1820-1827 A.D.
Nārāyaṇa Singha.....	1834-1849 A.D.

From two copper plates, one of Jayanta Singha, the other of Rani Ratna Kumārī, we get two dates. The copper plate of Jayanta Singha was issued in V. S. 1847 or 1790 A. D.; Ratna Kumārī's copper plate was issued V. S. 1861 or 1804 A.D.⁷

So, there can be no doubt about the fact that Jayanta Singha was ruling in 1790 and Ratna Kumārī in 1804. Evidently, the date given in the genealogical list for Jit Singh (1775-1797 A.D.) is wrong. Besides, there is no mention of Jait Sinha, alias Jayanta Singha in the genealogical list. It appears that the names of Jit Singh and Jait Singh have been confused and they have been taken as one. Ratna Kumārī was the wife Jayanta Singha, not of Jit Singha. Jayanta Singh, or Jait Singh was captured by the Marathas of Nagpur about the year 1797-98 A.D. But in the genealogical list Jit is mentioned to have been captured by the Marathas. These two facts prove that the names were confused by the compiler of the list in the genealogy.

From the two letters of Robert Ker, Commissioner, Cuttack to James Adam, Chief Secretary to the Government and Major Roughsedge dated 28th December, 1818 (vide Appendix 2 & 3) we come to know the following facts:—

- (a) Jayanta Singha died in the month of November, 1818.
- (b) While he died at Sambalpur, Rani Muktā Dei was at Panchgarh in Khurda.
- (c) She was receiving an allowance of Rs. 1,000/- from the middle of the year 1817.
- (d) She took possession of her Jagir, Panchagarh in Khurda into direct management in April or May, 1818.
- (e) The monthly allowance was in addition to the proceeds of the Jagir during the year 1818.

It is not known where Rani Muktā Dei was living during the period from 1808 to 1817 A. D., but it is sure that she was not with her husband at Sambalpur at the time of his death as described in Mallik's book. It, however, appears probable that Muktā Dei was living at Panchagarh in Khurda from 1808 A. D. (vide Appendix—3) till she returned to Sambalpur after the death of her husband; that she was originally granted the Jagir of Panchagarh for her maintenance. Subsequently in 1817 an allowance of Rs. 1,000/- a month over and above the Jagir was granted to her.

7. Orissa Historical Research Journal, Vol. II, pp. 47-48.

8. Mss. Records in the Office of the Board of Revenue, Cuttack.

The words, 'She resumed possession of her Jagir' in Commissioner's letter signifies that the Rani finding it difficult to manage the Jagir had made it over to the Government in view of some fixed allowance. Later she took up the management of the Jagir in 1818 after she was granted an allowance of Rs. 1,000/- p.m. in 1817 A. D.

But no fresh facts from the archival sources have been brought to light as regards the activities of Rani Ratna Kumārī and Rani Mohan Kumārī.

With the help of the facts stated above and those mentioned in the District Gazetteer⁹ the genealogy of Sambalpur kings after Ajita Singha and the general trend of history of Sambalpur during the period 1776-1849 A. D. can be chronologically reconstituted as follows :—

Adhaya Singha	1736-1775 A. D.
Balabhadra Sāi	1775-1782 A. D.
Jait Singh, <i>alias</i>	
Jayanta Singha	1782-1797 A. D.
Rani Ratna Kumārī (wife of Jayanta Singha) during Maratha occupation,	
Bhup Singh as Governor.	1798-1803 A. D.
Ratna Kumārī, British occupation	1804-1806 A. D.
Ratna Kumārī	1806-1808 A. D.

Sambalpur was made over to the Marathas by the British in 1806 and the State came under the actual occupation of the Marathas in 1808 A. D., when the Rani's troops were treacherously annihilated by the Marathas. The Rani fled away to the British territories for protection in 1808 and was granted a pension of Rs. 600/- p. m. Rani Muktā Dei another wife Jayanta Singha, was under British protection at Panchagarh from 1808-1818 A. D. near Cuttack.

Maratha rule	1808-1817 A. D.
British occupation of Sambalpur	1817 A. D.
Jayanta Singha released from prison at Chandī with his son Maharaj Sai and set up on the throne.	1817-18 A. D.
Death of Jayanta Singha	1819- A. D.
British Administration	1819 A. D.
Mahārāja Sāi	1820-1827 A. D.
Rani Mohan Kumārī wife of Maharaj Sai	1827-1832 A. D.
Narāyaṇa Singha	1833-1849 A. D.
British administration	1849 A. D.

TEXT

See plate

Obverse

- (१) स्वस्ती (स्ति) श्री^१ महाराज(जा)शिराज श्रीश्रीश्री मा(म)हाराज
 (२) श्री श्री श्री श्री नाराए^२(य)ण सिंघ देव श्री मा(म)
 (३) हाराजकु र नाराए(य)ण^३ दास गौट्य
 (४) भा (ट्या)ओ कृष्णदास गौट्य^४ भा (ट्या)मध्य दुई (इ)
 (५) भाई (इ)कु सि(शि)रकट्य^५(टा) तम्बापटा पत्र दि
 (६) मा गला की(कि) तुम्मे हजुरर^६ खैरखा^७-
 (७) ही (इ) नेकनामि^८ खिजिमती^९ हरि (करि) एक त-
 (८) उरे^{१०} बजाइवारु करि^{११} ओ तुम्भ बा-
 (९) प बालुकी दास मध्य हजुरर^{१२} नी(नि)म
 (१०) करे^{१३} सि (शि)रकाटे जी (यि)वारु करि तुम्भ
 (११) कु बमदेनजर^{१४} मोजे बड़गड़^{१५}

1. Indicated by a symbol.
2. According to tradition, Narayan Singh was blind of one eye. He was the Zamindar of Barpali estate before he was set up on the throne of Sambalpur.
3. Narayan Das and Krunbua Das were two sons of Baluki Das or Balukeasvara Das who laid down his life in king's service.
4. *Goutiya* or *Gauntia*—It is a title given to the headman of a village in Sambalpur and Ex-state areas adjoining it. In the village he is the most powerful man. He serves the Government as the rent collector of the village for which he is assigned the best land. He has various duties to perform (For further details, vide, Sambalpur District Gazetteer pp. 96-97).
5. The Copper-plate was issued to the heirs of a loyal servant who lost his head in king's service, hence the term 'Sirakata', literally meaning 'head cut off'.
6. Word of foreign origin naturalised in Oriya language. (Hereinafter such words are indicated by 'f'.) The word is commonly used in addressing kings, high officers etc. by the subordinates.
7. f. *Kharakhwah*—well-wisher loyal.
8. f. *Neknami*—reputation, with credit.
9. f. *Khidmet*—service.
10. Probably means continuously.
11. The word is superfluously used.
12. See, Note-6.
13. f. *Nimak*—Salt.
14. Meaning is not clear, probably it means, 'gratuously without being required to pay any *nazr* or *salami*.'
15. At present, it is the Sub-Divisional Headquarter of the Bargarh Sub-Division in the District of Sambalpur.

- (१२) रक्त पटा^{१६} करि खैराति^{१७} दी(दि)मा जा(या)उछि की (कि)
 (१३) तुम्हे ए ग्राम ओ बजार मालगुजार^{१८}
 (१४) कर कउडी (डि) सजलस्थल नी (नि)धि नी (नि)
 (१५) सात काष्ठपासाण गछ माछ छा

Obverse

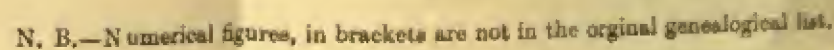
- (१) या उपछाया सही(हि)ते आसीमान्त^{१९} क
 (२) रि जा (या)वत्त(त्)वन्द्र(न्द्रा)करे (कै)
 (३) तावत्त(त्) शासन वृत्ति भस्मास्तिके^{२०} प्रमाणरे ओ
 (४) ग करिब ॥ श्री सरकार^{२१} खैरला
 (५) ने क (?) बिजमतरे पुस्तदरपुस्तरे हाज
 (६) र थिब ॥ स्वदत्त परदत्त वा जो(या) हरे (त्) वै बसु
 (७) न्धरा ॥ स(प)ष्ठिवर्ष (वर्ष) सह्या(सा)ने वीष्टा(ष्टा)
 (८) यां जायते कुमी^{२२} कु^{२३} ॥ मी (ह)ति मार्गशी (शि)
 (९) शु ७३ बार सन ता (?) १९०१ साल । सही^{२४}

Translation

(This) belongs to Maharajadhiraj Sri Narayana Singh Deva. (It is granted to) the two brothers Narayana Das, *gauntia* and Krishna Das *gauntia*. Since you are well-wishers of the king, you have continuously rendered service to the king with good reputation and your father, Baluki Das having lost his head in king's service, the village Badagada is granted as a piece of charity to you by means of this bloody deed (*raktapata*) you are ordered that you will enjoy for ever bazar duties, other taxes, land, placed under water, minerals and mines, wood, stone trees, fish, shades and places under shadow of the village. You and your successors will continue to be the well wisher of the government and always render service to it. He who takes away the land granted by himself or by others becomes worm in human excreta for sixty thousand years. This much. This much, 3rd *bara*. The 3rd *bara* and the 7th day of the month of Margasira of the year 1901. Signed.

10. Probably it refers to the loss of head of Baluki Das. Since there was blood-shed, the word, '*rakata pata*', literally meaning, 'a deed of blood', has been used.
 11. f. *Khairat*—Charitable grant.
 12. f. *Malguzar*—a rent payer, here it is used in the sense of *Malguzari* or rent.
 13. The Oriya terms used in 11 to 15 correspond to the Sanskrit terms '*Soparikara-soliesah-saketaghattanadi-varasthanadigulmakah achandrakakshtisimakalam*' found in many of the copper-plates of the Bhasma dynasty of Orissa. The same terms are used in another Oriya Copper-plate inscription. (J. B. O. R. S., Vol. XVII, p. 407) *nidhinikhata* minerals and mines. *Chhaya upachhaya*—Shades and places covered by shadows.
 14. *Bhasmantike*—till the end.
 15. f. *Pust dar pust*—by generations.
 16. Imprecatory Verse.
 17. A sign like the letter 'lu' the significance of which is not known.
 18. Implies, 'Signed by the King.'

(1) Balaram Deo
|
(2) Hridnarayan Sing
|
(3) Balabhadra Sai
|
(4) Madhukeshwar Sai



N. B.—Numerical figures, in brackets are not in the original genealogical list.

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APPENDIX 2.

(a)

Copy of the letter from Robert Ker, the Commissioner of Orissa dated Cuttack, the 26th December, 1818, to John Adam the Chief Secretary to Government, Fort William, Calcutta.

"I have the honour to transmit to you for the purpose of being laid before His Excellency the most noble the Governor General in Council the accompanying copy of a letter from Major Raughseedge dated 29th ultimo enclosing for my information extract of one Dispatches to your address of the same date relative to the Ranee of Sumbulpore, and of Panchgurr in Koorda, Ranee Mookta Dhasee having this day signified to me her intention of returning to Sumbulpore early in the month of Magh and her wish to relinquish charge of her Jageer in the hands of the Civil Authorities at this station. I have to solicit the orders of Government relative to the future management and disposal of the lands attached to Panchgurr.

"The Ranee has recieved since the middle of 1817 a monthly allowance of 1000 Rupees from the Magistrate's Office. I find that in April or May last she resumed possession of her Jageer, and that her Agents have collected from it up to the present date about 8000 Rupees, of which sum nearly 6000 remain in their hands unexpended. She is therefore amply provided with funds for prosecuting her journey to Sumbulpore with every comfort and convenience.

"Under other circumstances I should have felt it my duty to apply, for the sanction of Government to my affording her any pecuniary aid that might appear requisite for the purpose as requested by Major Raughseedge."

(b)

Copy of a letter from Robert Ker, the Commissioner of Orissa dated Cuttack the 26th December, 1818 to Major Raughseedge, Commanding S. W. Frontier, Sumbulpore.

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter dated 29th ultimo with its enclosure.

"You will have learnt with satisfaction that the Ranee of Sumbulpore entertained no intention of immolating herself on receiving intelligence of the death of her husband, and that she acceded readily to your proposition for her return to Sumbulpore.

"Her final determination however has only this day been communicated to me, on the completion of the Sraddh or funeral obsequies of the late Rajsh. She appears fully resolved on proceeding to Sumbulpore but does not propose leaving this station before the commencement of Magh, as some religious prejudices operate to prevent her undertaking a journey during the current month of Poose.

"I do not find that Ranee Mookta Dhase requires any pecuniary assistance to enable her to prosecute her journey with every comfort and convenience. Exclusive of her monthly allowance of 1000 Rupees from the Magistrate's Office her Agents have continued to collect nearly 8000 Rupees from Panchgurb since April last, the greater proportion of which sum remain on their hands unexpended. Every other species of aid I shall of course most readily afford her.

"I have applied to Government for instruction relative to the future management and disposal of the Jageer of Panchgurb."

APPENDIX 3

Copy of a letter from Major Roughsedge dated the 24th January, 1807. to George Webb, Collector of Cuttack,

"The state of my health, as well as the nature of some late orders from Government making it absolutely necessary that I should quit this place with the least possible delay, I have to beg you will be pleased to inform me how soon the Jaghiri assigned to Ranee Mookta Dhy will be ready for her occupation as I am anxious to report to Government on the subject previously to my proceeding to execute their new Instructions."

THE GARHPADA GRANT TO POTESVARA BHATTA BY PURUSHOTTAMA GAJAPATI

By Sri P. Mukherjee

See Plates 21-23

Purushottama Gajapati made a grant of a village to a Brahmin named Potesvara Bhatta. His descendants, who have become Muslim, are still enjoying it. According to the chronicle of this family, now known as the Bhuyāṁs of Garhpada this village was originally named as Udayapur. Purushottama Gajapati re-named it as Purushottamapura, and made a gift of it to Potesvara Bhatta. The gift was inscribed on a copper axe-head. The grant was issued in the month of Mesha, An (Amāvāsyā), Monday, on the occasion of an eclipse.

But the Aṅka date presented a problem. Beames read it as 'e 5' while Edward Gait read it as 25, as suggested by the owners of the copper-plate.¹

A. Simhāchalam inscription² and three inscriptions at Śrīkurmam³ recording gifts by private individuals, conclusively prove that Purushottama's second Aṅka began in the Aṅka year Bhādrapada Śu 12 S 1388-Bhādrapad^a Śu 12 S 1389, corresponding to August 23, 1465-September 11, 1467. The Simhachalam inscription, the first known inscription of Purushottama's reign, is dated March 20, 1467. Thus he came to the throne after December 14, 1466, the date of the last inscription of Kapilendra and before March 20, 1467.

We find that the Aṅka date cannot be 5, because no eclipse took place in the month of Mesha S' 139?—April 1470, in the 5th Aṅka of the king. Similarly, it cannot be read as 25. The letter 'e' appears elsewhere before the word bhūmi. Moreover

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1. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. 1 p. 335
 2. *J. B. O. R. S.* Vol. IV pp. 361-363
 3. *S. I. I.* Vol. VI No. 1106
 4. *Ibid* Vol. IV Nos. 1247-1248 and 1153

no eclipse took place in the month of Mesha S' 1409—April 1487 in the 25th Aṅka of Purushottama Gajapati. The following table shows the dates when an eclipse took place during the reign of Purushottama in the month of Mesha.

1. April 16, 1474 Mesha 21, S' 1396 Amāvāsyā Saturday
2. April 22, 1483 Mesha 26, S' 1405 Pūrṇimā Tuesday
3. April 16, 1493 Mesha 21 S' 1415 Amāvāsyā Monday

Beames wrote without adducing any evidence that Purushottama ascended the throne in 1478. Taking Aṅkas to be actual years, he concluded that the grant was made in 1483. Kielhorn in his note on the date of the grant points out that in case the conclusion of Beames is correct, the date of the grant can only be Monday Mesha 11, new moon, S' 1405—7th April 1483, "when there was an invisible eclipse of the Sun".⁵ But there is no reference to this Solar eclipse in Dewan Bahadur Swamikanu Pillai's *Indian Ephemeris* Vol. V. It is reasonable to assume that Purushottama would have waited for the lunar eclipse, which took place on 22nd April 1483 and was visible, instead of making gifts on the occasion of a solar eclipse which was not visible. It is also evident that the gift was not made on 22nd April 1483, Pūrṇimā. The gift was thus made either on April 16, 1474, in the 10th Aṅka or on April 16, 1493, in the 33rd Aṅka. *Di* after Mesha and before 10, does not denote *divā*. In that case *vā* would have been mentioned after 10, as in the case of *Bāṭi*. Thus it was twice the tenth or the 20th day of Mesha. If we take the date to be April 16, 1474, the suggested changes in the reading are 'Di 5 Aṅka Saurivāra'. If the date of the gift is April 16, 1493, the Aṅka should be 33 instead of 'E 5'.

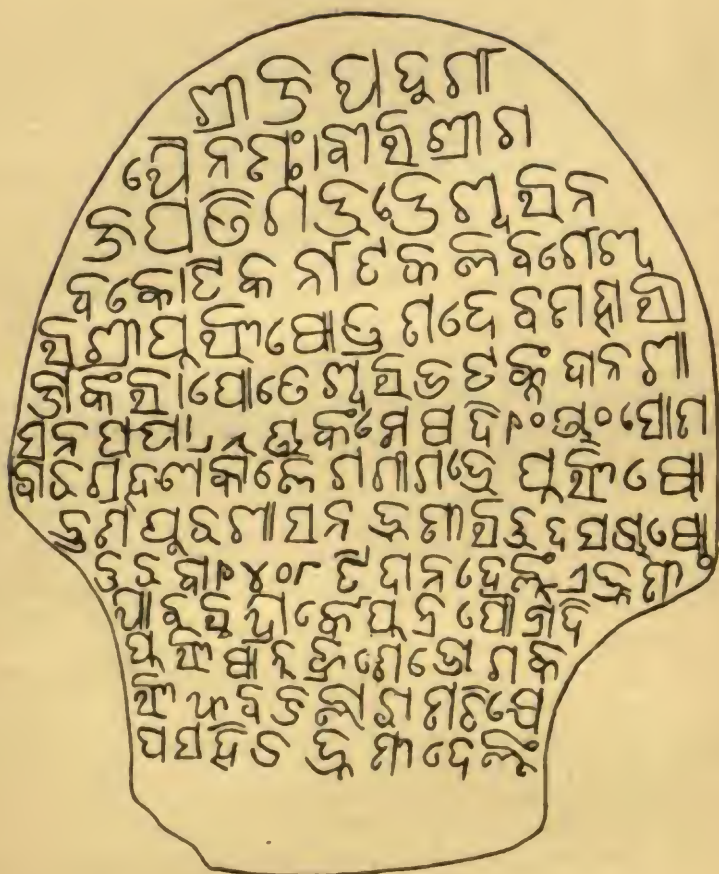
It may be argued that there were two Aṅka systems in the reign of Purushottama. This theory is based on the assumption that Purushottama who was crowned king in the southern part of the kingdom, had no hold in Orissa proper at first, where Hamvīra, probably the eldest son of Kapilendra, seized the throne and reigned for three years. The supporters of this theory point out that Ambur Ray's (Hamvīra's) accession to the throne of Orissa has been mentioned by Ferishta.⁶ According to M. M. Chakravarti⁷ and R. D. Banerji,⁸ Purushottama came to the throne in the Aṅka year 169-70, though R. D. Banerji rejects the story of disputed succession as a myth. Oriya literary sources do not corroborate the statement of Ferishta

5. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. XXIII p. 108

6. Briggs : *Ferishta* Vol. II p. 487

7. *J. A. S. B.* 1900 pp 182-183

8. *History of Orissa* Vol. p. 318



The Garhpada grant to Potesvara Bhatta by
Purushottama Gajapati. (over: 8)



The sign manual of the Velicherla Copper-plates grant
of Pratāparudra.

that Hamvira got the throne. We must have conclusive proof to assert that a second Aṅka system prevailed in 1469-70 ; though the details about the inscriptions of Purushottama in the Jagannath temple agree with the week days even according to M. M. Chakravarti and R. D. Banerji's reckoning of the second Aṅka year. So far there is no recorded instance of two Aṅkas prevailing in the reign of a king and there cannot be a variation from this rule in the reign of Purushottama.

The text of the grant with its translation is appended :

TEXT

Śrī Jaya Durgāyai namaḥ. Vira Śrī Gajapati Gauḍesvara Navakoṭi Karpāṭa Kalavargesvara Sri Purushottama Deva Mahārājaṅkara [1] Poteśvara Bhaṭṭaṅku dāna śāsana patta [1] E 5 (?) aṅka Mesha di 10 am Somavāra grahaṇa-kāle Gaṅgā-garbhe Purushottamapura Śāsana bhūmī Chaudasa-ashtottara Bā 1408 ṭi dāna deluṃ [1] E bhūmī yāvat-chandrārke putra-pautrādi-purushānukrame bhoga karuthiva Jalāgāma' nikshepa sahita bhūmī deluṃ [1]

Two imprecatory verses

Sri Madana Gopāla śaranam mama (elephant goad, conch shell, sword and dagger)

TRANSLATION

Bow down to Jaya Durgā. Deed of gift by Vira Śrī Gajapati Śrī Purushottama Deva Mahārāja, the overlord of Gauḍa, the overlord of Navakoṭi Karpāṭa and of Kalavarga, to Poteśvara Bhaṭṭa on Monday twice the 10th day of Mesha, in the 5th (?) Aṅka of my reign, on the bed of the Gaṅgā, at the time of the eclipse. I grant Purushottamapura Śāsana (consisting of) 1408 Bāṭis of land. You will enjoy the land with your sons, grandsons, and from generations to generation, so long as the Sun and the Moon exist. I grant the land with (the usufructs namely) water, future or impending benefits and hidden treasure.' (After the imprecatory verses). Save me Śrī Madana Gopāla.

9. It should be Jalagami (Jala Agami) (*Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIII p. 34). *Nikshepa* and *kupa* were given in an inscription of the reign of Govinda Vidyadhara (No. 247 of 1899).

[The writing of this plate gives the reading of 'jalarama'. The form of letter 'ra' here, is similar to 'ra' of Somavara and Purushottamapura of the text. In this plate two varieties of the form of letter 'ra' is found. Beams correctly deciphered it as 'jalarama' and translated as the land 'together with tanks and gardens.' But Gait deciphered it as 'jalagama' and translated it as 'land with liabation.' Ch. Ed.]

The grant begins with an invocation to Durgā. Purushottama's drama entitled *Abhinava Veni Samharam* was staged on the Mahāsātamī festival. The gift was made on the bed of the Gaṅgā. This was no exaggeration. The dominion of Orissa extended at that time upto the Adigaṅgā, through which the main stream of the Gaṅgā flowed.¹⁰ Poteśvara Bhaṭṭa was granted a Śāśana (village for Brahmins) consisting of 1408 Bāṭis of land, "The grant of such a vast tract of land" writes Beames "to a single Brahmin (21,160 acres) seems to support the native tradition that Garhpada and adjacent country at that time was uninhabited or sparsely populated."¹¹ It is interesting to note that Purushottama granted the village of Potavaram to a Śiva temple with asṭabhoga i.e. eight usufructs or conditions of proprietorship.¹²

Madana Gopāla, whose benediction was sought by the king, is a variation of the image of Venu Gopāla, which is a flute-playing Kṛṣṇa image standing on its left leg.¹³ Srinātha Bhaṭṭa, the court-poet of the Redḍi king Allāda writes in his poem Kāśī Khaṇḍam that the image of Madana Gopāla has manifested itself at Rājahmahendravaram. Rājahmundry was in Purushottama's possession when he was declared king on the bank of Kṛṣṇā. In 1471, Nizam-ul-mulk, the commander of Muḥammad III Bahmani captured¹⁴ it. Purushottama recovered it for a few months in 1475.¹⁵ He finally recovered the Rājya of Rajahmundry after the death of Muḥammad III in March 1482.¹⁶ It is stated in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* by Kṛṣṇa-dāsa Kavirāja that he conquered the Rājya of Vidyānagar and brought an image of Gopāla, which he installed at Katak.¹⁷ Vidyānagara appears to be a suburb or another name of Rājahmundry,¹⁸ Kavikarnapura writes in his drama entitled *Chaitanya Chandrodaya* that the image of Gopāla, the witness was brought

10. Brindavan Dasa : *Chaitanya Bhagavata* II. 2. 150

11. *Indian Antiquary* Vol. I p. 355

12. *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XIII pp. 157-153. For a note on the Asṭabhoga tenure and impreatory verses, see *The Orissa Historical Research Journal* Vol. I pp. 149-154.

13. Gopinath Rao : *Hindu Iconography* Vol. I p. 206

14. Briggs : *Perishta* Vol. II p. 457; *The Burhan-i-Ma'asir* : Indian Antiquary 1899 p. 288.

15. Do : *Tabaqat-i-Akbari* Vol. III p. 104.

16. Briggs : *Perishta* Vol. II p. 51; *The Burhan-i-Ma'asir* Indian Antiquary 1890 p. 292.

17. *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* II. 5. See also Brindavan Dasa : *Chaitanya Bhagavata* III 2).

18. It is stated in the *Chaitanya Charitāmṛta* that Ramananda Rai was the Raja of Rajahmundry (III 9) which was situated on the river Godavari (II 7).

from Mahendradeśa.¹⁹ We learn from Purushottama's inscription in the Jagannath temple dated August 22, 1482 that he named an annexe of his palace at Katak as 'Gopāla priya'. This reference to the deity Madana Gopāla appears to throw light on the date of the inscription. We may reasonably assume that Purushottama sought the benediction of Madana Gopāla, after he had brought the image from Rājahmundry to Katak and not in 1474, when Rājahmundry was in Muhammad III's possession.

The sign manual of this grant consisting of elephant goad, sword, concheshell and dagger may be compared with the sign manual in the Veligalani plates of Pratap Rudra consisting of elephant goad, the hilt and the blade of a sword.

Sarveśvar Bhaṭṭa, 8th in descent from Potesvara Bhaṭṭa, embraced Islam during the reign of Aurangzeb. His estate was confiscated by Dāmodar Bhaṇṇa, Raja of Mayurbhanj. It was restored to him by the emperor when he agreed to change his faith. He now took the name of Sarmast Khan. His grandson Fateh Khan received the title of Bhuyan from the Raja of Mayurbhanj. The Bhuyans of Garhpada prospered under the British rule. We learn from the family history of the Bhuyans that Bhuyan Asmatullah served the British government as a Daroga and died in 1853. His son Haji Abdul Majid served as a jailor. He had a number of cousins, one of whom was Haji Abdus Sobhan Khan who became a Government pleader. Haji Abdus Sobhan Khan died in 1917 leaving three sons. The third and the best known among his sons is Haji Bhuyan Abdus Samad Khan, the fourth Haji among the descendants of Potesvara Bhatta. He served in the Bihar and Orissa Civil Service and is still living. The Bhuyan family of Garhpada has retained some Hindu practices. The worship of the family gods, is still conducted by paid Brahmins.

19. *Chaitanya Chandrodaya* VI 16' Krishnadeva Raya similarly took an image of Bala-Krishna from Udayagiri to his capital (Nos. 408 of 1907, 25 and 26 of 1859).

MAÑINĀGA WORSHIP IN ORISSA

By Pandit Binayak Mishra

Although about 50 per cent of population of Orissa belong to Nāga Gotra meaning the school of serpents and they claim Nāga as their progenitor the trace of Nāga worship is now so much obscure that without careful study of religious observance, no one can believe the prevalence of this worship in Orissa in ancient times. Now in the following form of Baladeva worship the trace of Nāga worship is discernible.

On the full moon day of Śrāvaṇa every family in South Orissa decorates the cows with turmeric paste and vermillion marks on the foreheads and with wreaths of flowers round the necks. When the decorated cows are untethered for the grazing ground, a member of the family strikes them with a plant called *gāigendālā*. But in some Brahmana villages a snake of earth is made and worshipped under the name Gahmā. Such worship is also performed in the Raj families with an additional function in which the competition of high jumping is carried on. Two bamboo poles are planted perpendicularly, one on the right and the other on the left side of the head of snake of earth. Again the tops of two bamboos support the two ends of another bamboo horizontally put and both ends are tied with ropes to the tops of posts. A coconut and a pair of new cloths with coins folded together are tied to the horizontal piece. The competitors come running one after another from the tail end and at the head jump to bring down the prizes which are not within easy reach. The snake of earth is called Baladeva and Gahmā as well.

In the English translation of the Rgveda (p. 2641) the late Manmatha Natha Dutta Shastri, M.A., narrates a legend without reference to its source. According to it Surya (the sun) was desirous of giving his daughter, Sūryā, to Soma. But all the gods desired her as wife and agreed that who ever reached the sun as goal should marry the damsel.

Surya probably represents rain that comes down from the sky. The ambition of bringing down rains seems to have prompted some one to practise high jumping.

A class of snakes are sometimes found sucking milk from the udder of cow in the dry season. After sucking, the teats cease permanently to give passage to the flow of milk, if an hair from boar's tail is not thrust into the passage immediately. Thus the snake appears to be *goghna* meaning killer of cow. The term, *gahmā* denoting the snake of earth made for worship, seems to have been derived from *goghna*.

In the Aitareya Brāhmaṇa (XIII, 12. 9) Indra is described as 'tvāhi abihatye', which mean "for the sake of slaughter of snakes". Vṛtra, mentioned in the Vedas and killed by Indra, can be taken in the sense of coiled serpent, since it seems to have derived from Vṛtta, denoting a circle resembling the coiled form of a snake. The Kuṇḍalini or coiled serpent in the base part of the body roused by some Brahmanas in the Tantric worship seems to be identical with Vṛtra killed by Indra. The Rājās used to call themselves *Narendra* or Indra among men and as such they used to make the snake of earth to be run over in order to show that they were as capable as Indra in killing snake sucking milk from the cow. But the Tantrika Brāhmaṇas worshipped serpent to derive vigour from it for profuse flow of seminal matter resembling milk.

It is stated in the Śalyaparva (ch. 34) of Mahābhārata that Balarāma reached the bank of the tank called Dvaipāyana where Duryodhana took shelter on the day the moon remained in the constellation of Śrāvāṇā star. Needless to say that on the full moon day of Śrāvāṇa the moon remains in the constellation of Śrāvāṇā star. Thus coincidence of Śrāvāṇā the star, tempts us to identify Baladeva of the worship described above with Balarāma. This Balarāma is said in the Mahābhārata to have caste off his mortal frame after a snake had emerged out of his body and entered into the sea. Again in the Śaśisena story, current in Orissa since remote past, Ahimāṇikya, husband of Śaśisena, calls himself Hall. Needless to say that Hall is another name of Balarāma and the name, Ahimāṇikya, denotes the gem of snake. Thus Baladeva, Gahmā, Balarāma and Ahimāṇikya all appear to be identical with each other. Ahimāṇikya is probably called Maṇināga meaning alike the gem of snake. For want of space I cannot relate here the story of Ahimāṇikya which describes him as son of the goddess Vindhyesvari, and as an adventurous hero and thus establishes his claim for a place among the gods.

Pārsvanātha, the 23rd Jaina Tirthaṅkara, has an emblem of snake. The god, Parśurāmeśvara meaning the lord of Parśurāma, is called Pārśvesvara, meaning the lord of Pārśva, in the inscription existing on the top of entrance door of the temple of that name at Bhubaneswar. As Parśurāma is shown below as being associated with snake like Pārsvanātha, I am inclined to hold that one and the same god has been made two different gods by two different sects.

It is stated in the Bṛhaddevatā (IV, 112-120) that at a great sacrifice of Sudāsa by Śakti, Gāthi's son (Viśvāmitra) was deprived of consciousness. But to him (Viśvāmitra) the Jāmadagnis gave speech called Sasarpārī whereupon he was brought back to his senses. The initial letter *sa* means with, the succeeding word *sarpa* denotes serpent and the final letter *ra* signifies vigour. We may therefore take Sasarpārī, the feminine form of sasarpara, in the sense of 'with the vigour of snake'. The Jāmadagnis gave speech with the vigour of snake to Viśvāmitra. It now goes to show that the Jāmadagnis were either snake-charmer or snake-worshipper. Some of the snake-charmers of Orissa now practise sorcery and as such the Jāmadagnis, being snake-charmers, would have restored the consciousness of Viśvāmitra with the aid of sorcery. As Parśurāma is described in Purāṇas as the son of Jamadagni, we may now hold that he (Parśurāma) was, in some way or other, connected with snake. So, our identification of Parśurāma, called Pārśva in the inscription of the Parśurāmeśvara temple at Bhubaneswar, with Jaina Pārsvanātha having the emblem of snake, appears tenable.

According to tradition current in Nepal there was a great war for the extermination of Nāgas meaning snakes under the leadership of Janamegi*. We may hold that the name, Janamegi, is the phonetical variation of Jamadagni. Now our assumption that the Jāmadagnis used to worship Nāga or serpent is based on a surer ground. In the Mahābhārata (Ādi, Ch. 29) there is mention of 75 Nāgas including Maṇināga. Jamadagni and Parśurāma are called alike Bhārgava meaning the progeny of Bṛghu mentioned as a Rṣhi in the Purāṇas. I am inclined to hold that the rock-worshippers are called Bhārgava in as much as the word, bṛghu, denotes rock. This assumption receives support from the fact that a circular rock resembling the coiled form of snake is worshipped at present at Ranpur in the District of Puri under the name Maṇināga. Formerly every Rājā of Ranpur used to worship this Maṇināga, holding his wife in the

* Gorakha & Kanaphatas, p. 132.

lap. In the Oriya Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa, the king, Janaka, is said to have worshipped god, holding his wife in the lap. A class of beggar Brāhmaṇas called Chakuliā-panḍā in Orissa give prominence to Janaka signifying the male energy. In the Oriya Nṛsiṃha-purāṇa are mentioned two schools—1 Janaka, recognising soul or male energy as the source of creation and 2 Śanaka holding Prakṛti or female energy as the source of creation. It points to the fact that Janaka was a school which gave prominence to the soul. In the Chhāndogyaopaniṣad Janaka is also found giving prominence to the soul. If Janaka is taken in the sense of prominence of the soul theory, the story of Paśurāma killing his mother on the command of his father (Janaka), Jamadagni, can be interpreted as extirpation of the school giving prominence to the female energy.

The space at my disposal is limited and as such I abstain from discussing here the tenets of Nāga worship. But on the basis of statement occurring in the Mahābhārata (Adi, Ch. 64) that Paśurāma practised penance on the Mahendra mountain, I can say that in Orissa the school of Paśurāma who is held as snake-worshipper, was in existence in ancient times. Even now a Śiva liṅga on the top of the Mahendra mountain in Mandasa Taluk is called Paśurāmeśvara. Out of the Nāgas worshipped in Orissa Maṇināga was probably very popular. Firstly, because his worship has survived at Ranpur up to this day, secondly, his name is mentioned in a copper-plate record of Orissa of 6th century A. D.* and thirdly, even now at Jajpur the image of the goddess Virajā, wearing on the head cobra with the lower part coiled and the raised hood expanded, is called Maṇināga.

In the copper-plate record one Śiva liṅga, is called Maṇināgeśvar meaning the Lord of Maṇināga. As Śiva has been made to wear Nāga or cobra as an ornament we can hold that when Śiva worship was imposed on the Nāga worshippers, for the sake of compromise the Śiva worshippers admitted Nāga as an ornament of Śiva. The Nepalese tradition that there broke out a war for extirpation of the Nāgas, points to the fact that a movement was launched for eradication of Nāga worship. After the achievement of success by this movement the Śiva liṅga seems to have been called Maṇināgeśvara, meaning the Lord of Maṇināga, for indicating his superiority of Śiva to Maṇināga. Similarly some Śiva liṅgas in Orissa have been called Paśurāmeśvara meaning the lord of Paśurāma.

* J. K. H. R. S., January 1930, pp. 261-265.

THE INSCRIPTION OF PRAPANNĀCHĀRYA IN THE TEMPLE OF PARĀSURĀMEŚVARA

By Sri Surya Narayan Das,
See plate No. 29.

The temple of Parāsurameśvara at Bhubaneswar is one of the oldest temples in Orissa. It occupies an unique place in the history of the development of the Orissan temple architecture and its decorative sculpture. From its architectural outline and sculptural technique its date belongs most probably to the later part of the Gupta period. In addition to this there are about a dozen inscriptions on the walls of the temple which help us in assigning a date paleographically to the same period. Ink impressions of these inscriptions have been taken by me and I propose to publish the readings with notes in another paper.

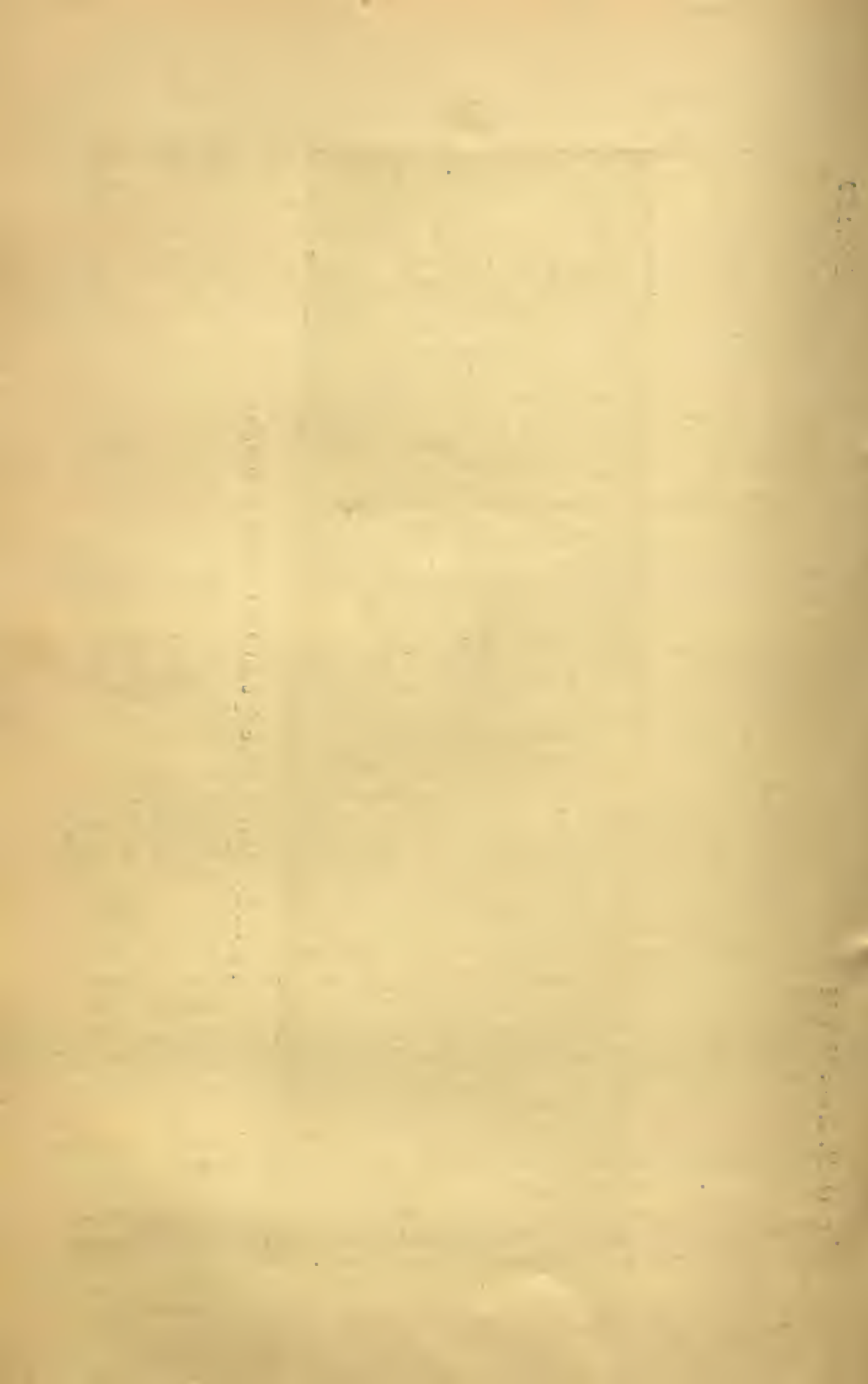
The longest inscription that attracts the attention of the visitor as soon as he enters into the compound of the temple is on the top of the southern entrance of the Jagamohana. The inscription contains four lines of writing in Sanskrit prose and the characters are of Kutila type and bear close resemblance to the alphabets found in the medieval inscriptions of Orissa. The inscription is of the size 23"×6". As the slab is facing towards the south, saline breeze has, to some extent, damaged it. There is a small crack on the slab running from the first letter of the first line in a slightly bending fashion down to the end of the second line. Some small shallow holes are also noticeable. Except for these minor defects the slab is in a fairly good condition and the characters are fairly intelligible.

M. M. Chakravarti noticed this inscription in 1892 and published a short note on it.¹ He writes ".....the purport appeared to be that by order of the lord of Śrī Kalinga, offerings were made by one Vedāchārya (probably a royal officer or purohita) to Pārāseśvar Bhattaka Brahmin....."

1. *Proceedings of A. S. B.* Vol. XII, 1892, p 140



Parśurāmeśvara Inscription of Prapañnāchārya



Dr. R. C. Mazumdar read this inscription for Sri Gurudas Sarkar who incorporated this in his book "Mandirer Katha." The first few letters in the first line could not be deciphered by Dr. Mazumdar. Chakravarti's note and Mazumdar's readings do not give a correct idea of the inscription. Sri A. Ghosh published a paper in which he edited five inscriptions of the temple in question including the present one.² In this paper I am going to re-edit it.

TEXT

- L1. ॐ श्री प्रपन्नाचार्येण पाराश्वर स्वरा भट्टा (1) (र)काय
 L2. प्रभातकाले नित्यनेत्रेण चादकं कृतवान् तपस्वि (-)
 L3. नामप्यादिक द्वयं दातव्यं यः कश्चिन् दास्यति क्षेत्र (-)
 L4. पालः स महापातकेन सह स' दध्यते' ॥

TRANSLATION

"Srimat Prapannāchārya made (a gift of) one 'adhaka' for the daily offerings in the morning to the Lord Paraśeśvara (Paraśurāmesvara). The Tapasvins too should get two 'ādnakas'. He (the ruler) who will usurp this at any time will be committing an act of great sin and will be destroyed completely."

The purpose of the inscription is to record the grant of one Srimat Prapannāchārya for offerings to the Lord Paraśeśvara. The 'ādhaka', of course, denotes a measure (of rice) and it is equivalent to about three-fourths of a standard seer.

There is no mention of the word "भूमि" (land). But the imprecatory portion of the inscription in which specific prohibition of levy of tax has been made clearly shows that the donor must have provided some lands to meet the daily expenses. No mention of the area of the land and its location have been made. The date of the grant and the name of the donee are also not given.

The most important things to be noticed in this record is the mention of the name Paraśeśvara and the Tapasvins.

The temple is generally known as the Paraśurāmesvara temple. The mention of the name of Paraśeśvara in the grant

2. *Mandirer Katha*. Vide chapter on "Bhubanesvara" and the Appendix.

3. *Epigraphica India* Vol. XXVI. No. p. 126-27

4. The word may be read as "स'नध्यते"

may create an impression that the inscription is either a forged one or it has been wrongly fixed to the temple. The size and the quality of the stone slab fits into the structure perfectly well and there can be no doubt on that count. There is also nothing very unusual about the inscription. Hence it will not be a correct inference to doubt it as an 'intruder'. As there are no particulars about the donee or the land it will not be tempting to suppose that somebody might have fixed a spurious inscription here.

The temple derives its name from Paraśurāma. The Isvara worshipped by him came to be known by the name, 'Paraśurāmesvara'. The Sthala Purāṇas—Svarṇādri Mahodaya and Ekāmra Chandrikā—mention the name of Paraśurāmesvara. In the month of Āshāḍha the festival of Parasurāmāṣṭami is celebrated in this temple. During the car festival of Āśokāṣṭami special offerings are made to Paraśurāmesvara and the 'representative' deity of Lingārāja pays a visit to this temple. All these show that even at the time of the composition of the Sthala Purāṇa (Svarṇādri Mahodaya and the Ekāmra Chandrikā) this temple was known as the Paraśurāmesvara temple and the name is still current at the present time. It can be presumed that this temple was also known in olden days by the name of Paraśesvara. It may have some connection with 'Paraśu', the emblem of Paraśurāma. In that case the name ought to be Paraśvīśvara (पराश्वीश्वर). But it is also tempting to connect this name with the sage Pārāśara who might have installed the deity and the temple might have been known by the name of Pārāśaresvara.

The Sthala Purāṇas call the whole area lying between the Uttaresvara temple (on the banks of the Vindusāgara) and the Meghesvara temple as Siddhāranya or the forest of the Siddhas (saints). It is in this area that the famous temples of Muktesvara, Paraśurāmesvara, Swarnajālesvara, Rājarāni etc. are situated. In olden days many Siddhas were living in this area. It must be some of the Siddhas, who were residing in this area, had made the gift.

DIKPĀLA AND THEIR ŚAKTIS IN TEMPLES OF ORISSA

By Sri P. Acharya

(with illustrations)

The history of the temple architecture goes back at least to the period of 8th the century A. D. if not earlier in Orissa. In the early period the temples called Lakshmaṇeśvara, Bharateśvara, Śatrughneśvara and Svarnajāleśvara were constructed at Bhubaneswar. The special features of this group of temples is the absence of the porch (Mukhaśālā or Jagamohana) in the front. The temples called Paraśurāmeśvara, Baitāla and Śiṣireśvara belong to a later phase of this period due to the presence Mukhśālās attached to them. In all these temples are found the Aṣṭa-grahas or eight planetary deities in stead of popular nine ones carved on the lintels of the door frames of temples. The Navagraha slab of the Konarak temple is well known, but in early temples the planet Ketu is not included. It seems that the conception of the 9th planet Ketu in the temple architecture is of later date. Similarly the introduction of Dikpālas in the temple architecture is also of later origin. In the Śatrughneśvara temple, one of the earliest temples of Bhubaneswar, the saiva deities are placed at the niches of 8 corners of the temple. In the Paraśurāmeśvara temple there are 8 niches which are now found empty. In absence of any sculpture there it is not safe to conjecture that the niches were ment for the Dik-pālas or the cardinal deities.

The temples of Muḥ teśvara and Gaurī in the premises of the Kedāṅkunda are later in date than that of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple. There are 8 niches on four corners of the Mukteśvara temple which are empty now, and it is not possible to suggest the purpose for which these were constructed.

Next to Mukteśvara is the date of the Rājaraṇi temple not far from it and its date has been assigned by all to 1000 A. D. In this temple the 8 Dikpālas or cardinal deities have been prominently carved out according to their positions as mentioned

in the lexicography of Amara or Amarakosha. From this survey it appears that no temple before 1000 A. D. was adorned with Dikpālas.

The Amarakosha contains the following verse on the 8 Dikpālas :

Indro-Vahnih-Pitṛpatir-Naiṛto-Varuṇo-Marut.
Kuvera-Isaṅpatayah pūrvādīnām diśām kramāt II.V.149.

In the consecutive order from the eastern quarter is to be placed Indra, Vahni, Yama, Naiṛta, Varuṇa, Vāyu, Kuvera and Isāna.

The Pratiṁā-lakṣhaṇa and Br̥hat Saṁhitā give the description of vehicles and weapons (Ayudhas) of the 8 Dikpālas. The quarters, vehicles and weapons of the Dikpālas of the Rājaraṇi temple are noted below including the quarter belonging to each.

	Name	Quarter	Vehicle	Weapons
1.	Indra	East	Elephant	Vajra and Ankuṣa
2.	Agni	S. E.	Ram	Akṣamālā and Kamandala
3.	Yama	South	Buffalo	Danda, Khadga, Trisūla and Akṣamālā
4.	Naiṛta	S.W.	Human body	Khadga and Dhāla
5.	Varuṇa	West	Makara	Samkha and Padma
6.	Vāyu	N. W.	Deer	Chakra and Ketana
7.	Kuvera	North	Seven pitchers	Vara and Abhaya
8.	Isāna	N. E.	Bull	Trisūla and Kapāla

The images of the above Dikpālas of the Rājaraṇi temple of Bhubaneswar are in good state of preservation and that of Varuṇa is a fine specimen of image-sculpture (see plate 30). All the images are carved out Dikpāla in here standing postures.

The date of the great Līṅgarāja temple of Bhubaneswar has been assigned to about 1050 A.D. This temple has been adorned with the 8 Dikpālas in a sitting posture. The Mukhaśālā of the Līṅgarāja temple does not possess any image of the Dikpālas from which it can be said that upto the middle of the 11th century the introduction of the Dikpālas in the Mukhaśālā of a temple was not popular in the temple architecture.



The Dikapāla Varuṇa from the Rajarani temple Bhubaneswar.



Among the temples of Bhubaneswar, the temple Brahmesvara possesses an inscription which gives its date as well as the name of the builder of the temple. The name of the builder is Kolāvati Devī, the mother of Mahārājādhirāja Udyota Keśarī, the son of Yayāti II of the Somakuli Dynasty, popularly known as the Keśarī dynasty in the Madalāpāñji, the chronicle of the Jagannath temple at Puri. According to the Madalāpāñji the Liṅgarāja temple was built by Yayāti Keśarī. So the temple of Brahmesvara comes chronologically after the temple of Liṅgarāja. In the Brahmesvara temple there are Dikpālas both in the main shrine as well as in the Mukhasālā. This is no doubt a new addition to the temple architecture at Bhubaneswar.

The temple of Jagannath at Puri was constructed perhaps in the middle of the 12th century A.D. and naturally decorated like the Liṅgarāja, has been fully covered with plaster in the subsequent period. Due to the covering of the plaster the decoration and the images of the Dikpālas have been lost to the sight of the pilgrims. At my request the Rāja Ramachandra Deva of Puri caused the removal of the plaster in a small place at the south-west corner of the temple and the image of Vāyu was found at a depth of 12 inches of the plaster. If all the plaster is removed the decoration of the walls of Jagannath temple will be found similar to that of the Liṅgarāja temple.

The temple of Megheśvara of Bhubaneswar is also dated one from its inscription. It was built by an officer of Aniyānkabhīmadēva during the period of 1190-95 A. D. In this temple there are images of Dikpālas. As the temple is not fully decorated it seems that its Mukhasālā was not provided with Dikpālas like the Brahmesvara temple.

I have not noticed the images of the Dikpālas in the Mukhasālā or Jagamohana of the Koṇarak temple. As the main temple is broken much below to the height of the wall assigned of the position of the Dikpālas, there is no chance of knowing the Dikpālas. The date of this temple is about 1250 A. D. and it is natural that it possessed the images of Dikpālas. I have not noticed any image of the Dikpālas ment for the great temple in the collection sculptures from its ruins.

In 1278 A.D. Chandra Devī, the daughter of Anāṅgabhīma Deva, sister of Narasiṅha Deva I and aunt of Bhānu Deva I, built the Anantavāsudeva temple at Bhubaneswar. In this temple which is in good preservation, there are images of 8 Dikpālas at the four corners over which are the

images of Śaktis (female energies) of Dikpālas in the main shrine as well as in the Jagamohana. (See plates 31a, 31b, 32a, 32b, 33a 33b, 34a and 34b). Thus we see in this temple that a new type of architectural decoration was first introduced in Orissa.

In the Devī-Mahātmya or Chaṇḍī we find the description of Sapta or Aṣṭa-Mātrikās and at Jajpur and Puri we have images of these deities. Even in the Jagamohana of the Paraśurāmeśvara temple, there are Sapta-Mātrika images on its wall. So the conception of Śaktis or female energies of deities was not a new thing. Even in the Devī-Kavach of Devī-Mahātmya the Śaktis of the Dikpālas find mention as follows :

Prāchyām rakshatu Māhendrī Āgneyām Meshavāhinī ।
Dakṣiṇe chaiva Vārāhī Nairṭyām Khadgadharīṇī ।
Pratīchyām Vāruṇī rakshed-Vāyavyām Mrgavāhīṇī ।
Udichyām rakshet-Kauverī Āśānyām Śuladhārīṇī ॥

Let Indrāṇī protect (us) in the east, the Śakti of Agnī in the south-east, Vārāhī in the south, the Śakti of Nairṭa in the south-west, Vāruṇī in the west, the Śakti of Vāyu in the north-west, Kauverī in the north and Āśānī in the north-east.

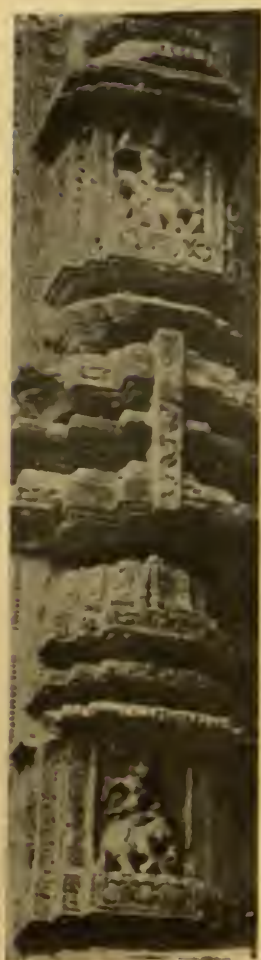
In the above description we find Vārāhī or Yama-śakti having the vehicle of buffalo. The image of Vārāhī of the Sapta-mātrikās having the vehicle of buffalo is carved with the face of the boar, but the face of Yamī is of human form with the exception of this difference of the image of the female energy of Yama there is no other difference in the scripture and the sculpture of the Śaktis of the Dikpālas with that of the Sapta mātrikās.

The temples called Śādhi, Chitrakāriṇī, Yameśvara, Mitreśvara and Varuṇeśvara of Bhubaneswar are all works of later period than that of Anantavāsudeva temple and the Dikpālas with their Śaktis are adorned in both the main shrines and Jag. mohanas of this group of temples.

M. M. Ganguly in his *Orissa and Her Remains* p. 174 first discussed the importance of Dikpālas in the temple architecture of Orissa, but he did not notice the female energies of the Dikpālas.

The images of Dikpālas and their Śaktis have been carved in various ways by the different sculptors in a period of 500 years from 1000 A. D.

Dikpālas of the Anantavāsudeva Temple
Bhubaneswar



(a) Indra and Aindri
S.E.E.



(b) Agni and Āgneyī
S.E.S.

11/11/2011



11/11/2011

11/11/2011

Dikpālas of the Anantavāsudeva Temple
Bhubaneswar



(a) Yama and Yamī
S.W.S.



(b) Nairṭa and Nairṭī
from the Jagamohana.
S.W.W.



Dikpalas of the Anantavāsudeva Temple
Bhubaneswar



(a) Varuṇa and Vāroṇī
from the Jagamohana.
N.W.W.



(b) Vāyu and Vāyī
N. W. N.



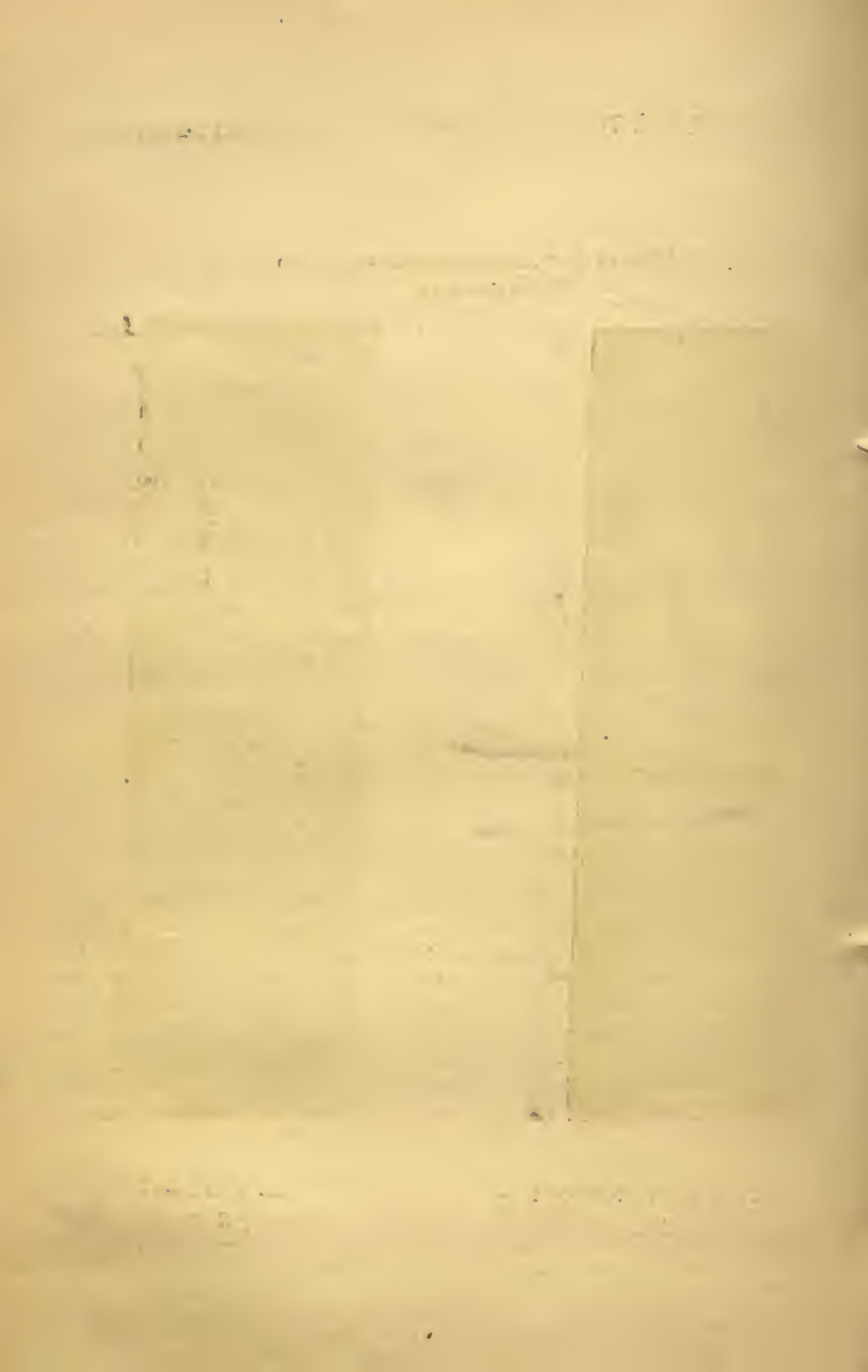
Dikpālas of the Anantavāsudeva Temple
Bhubaneswar



(c) Kuvera and Kauveri
N. E. N.



(b) Iṣāna and Iṣānī
N. E. E.



VOTIVE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE LINGARĀJ TEMPLE

(2) Stone inscription of Govinda Senāpati¹

By Sri Surya Narayan Das
See Plate 34

Govinda, the Commander-in-chief of the Gaṅgavaṁśī King Anīka Bhīmadeva (of Orissa) made a grant of 5 (five) bātis i.e. about one hundred acres of land in the village of Lakshmīsāgara Pattana for the performance of certain duties in the temple of Lord Kṛtivāsa (at Bhubaneswar), in the 4th Aṅka or 3rd regnal year of the King. This grant is incised on two stone slabs on the right wall to the Nātamandira adjoining the eastern door of the Jagamohana of the temple of Lingarāja at Bhubaneswara.

The inscription written in Nāgari characters contains 13 (thirteen) lines of Sanskrit prose, ten on the top slab and the remaining three on the slab below. The inscription occupies a space of sq. inches (18" × 16"). This is the top-most one in the column which contains about half a dozen inscriptions belonging to the Gaṅga period.

The first two lines contain the praśasti of Anīka Bhīmadeva. The third line contains the Aṅka year (Chatusisthattame) and the name of the month. The later half of the fourth, fifth sixth and the first half of the seventh line contain the praśasti of lord Kṛtivāsa. The eleventh and twelfth lines contain the praśasti and name of the donor (Govinda).

The grant is made in the month of Makara in the Śukla-paksha (bright half) on the Thursday in the 3rd regnal year of the King.

Govinda has made a grant of two bātis of land to the potter (Kumbhakāra) for supplying pots daily to be utilised in cooking the *bhoga* to lord Lingarāja, two bātis to the lime supplier for white-washing the temple every year and one bati of land for cleaning the temple thrice a day.

1. The first of this series appeared in this Journal Volume I No. 4, page 311.

The lands belong to Lakshmiāgara Pattana. This village now bears the name of Lakshmiāgara only and is about one mile to the east of the Bhubaneswara Railway Station and about three miles to the north of the temple of Lingarāja. Tradition says that a very big tank was dug by Lakshmi Devi, wife of Chodagaṅga Deva, (father of Aniyāṅka-bhīmadeva) and the remains of this tank are visible even to this day.

Govinda was both a soldier and statesman. Besides being the Commander-in-Chief he also held the post of the Prime Minister. King Anaṅgabhīma Deva, the grand son of Aniyāṅka-bhīma Deva, has paid glowing tributes to the great qualities of this statesman² in these words:—

स्मरंश्चुत्तिथयः पवीभिरुसास्यमानो
 गोविन्द इत्यजनि वत्सकुले द्विजेन्द्रः ॥
 राज्ञः कएव महिमा यदसावनेन
 साम्राज्यभार वहने विषदे धुरीणः ॥ ८ ॥

“Govinda, who was superior to other Brahmans took his birth in the Vasta Gotra. The Vedas voluntarily served him, i.e. he obtained a great proficiency in the study of Vedas. This is not a great glory on his part, as the King appointed him to bear the burden of the whole empire.”

Govinda's surname was Pattajyoshī and he was a Brahman. He also served as the Chief Minister of King Anaṅgabhīma Deva. It is said that he played a very conspicuous part in extending the Orissan empire in the north, west and the south. In the fight against Tuhmāṇa King on the banks of Bhīmā river at the foot of the Vindhya mountains Govinda personally led the army and succeeded in repelling the attack of Tuhmāṇa Rājya. He built up a very powerful army and reorganised the armed services on a sound footing. Fixation of salary and granting of jagirs to the soldiers were two innovations introduced by him. Vishnu, another soldier-minister of Anaṅgabhīma Deva also played a glorious part in these activities of the State.

The following facts can be ascertained from the inscriptions.

(1) Offerings, in the shape of cooked food (Mahāprasād) was prevalent even in those days. The provision of such a big

2. Chateswar Inscription : Edited by N. N. Basu, J.A.S.B. Vol—LXVII 1898 Part I, pp 317-327.

plot of land for the supply of pots for lord Kṛtivarṇa's *bhaga* clearly shows that Mahāprasāda must have come into vogue prior to the date of the grant.

(2) Use of lime for white-washing purposes.

(3) The use of the word "bāti" i.e. (twenty māṇas), One māṇa is equal to one acre in the district of Cuttack. But at Bhubaneswar the māṇa is about half an acre. "Bati" is used even to this day in Orissa.

(4) The name of the King has been given as 'Aniṅka Bhīmadeva'. In some other inscriptions he is named as "Aniyaṅka Bhīmadeva". Aniṅka and Aniyaṅka mean the same thing.

TEXT

- L1. प्रद्योत द्योत बलि ध्वान्त ध्वस्ति क्षान्ति शमा कारुण्य जलधि—
 L2. निमग्न दीनानाथ तरणैकतरणे भगवतः शीमदनिष्कभीम
 L3. देवस्य प्रवर्द्धमान साम्राज्ये चतुसिस्तत्तमे अङ्के मकर
 L4. शुक (कल) पञ्चमी गुरुवारे शी मदकलङ्क सुषाधवल कलानि—
 L5. धि कला का(क)लित मील भगवतो जगद्दीप्स्व(स्व)रस्य कीर्तिवा—
 L6. स स (स्व) देवस्य यज्ञोत्सग्न महोत्सव.....
 L7. कु प्रतिनियत मण्डपस्य प्रतिद्वादशी(श्वां) श्रियाङ्कदनाथ
 L8. कुम्भकाराय देवाटिकेय अद्भीय चूर्णबिलेपनाथ
 L9. चूर्णकाराय द्वे अनुदिन बारवय सनाज्जनाथ मे—
 L10. केतर लक्ष्मीसागर पट्टित्यामा मीथ पञ्चबाटाः
 L11.उद्धारकर्ता गो—
 L12. विन्द सेनापतिना प्रदत्त । अतः आस (सा)म पह (र)णं यः
 करो—
 L13. ति भगाधिकारी वन स भवत (ति) । तदात्र सुखी भवति ॥

THE ANTIQUITY OF WORDS OḌIŚĀ AND OḌIĀ

By P. Acharya

Orissa is the anglicised form of the Oriya word Oḍiśā. Stirling derives the word from "*Ordessa* or *Oresa* the old original seat of Odra tribe". In Hobson-Jobson it is written under *Ooriya* that "the proper name of the country (Orissa) is *Odra-desa* and *Ordessa* whence Oriya." Again it is written there that "Orissa n.p. (Skt. Oḍrāśhṭra the land of Oḍras). The word is a prākṛita form of Uttara, north or applied to north part of Kalinga." Hunter in his Orissa p. 172-73 has laboured to give all sorts of lexicographical derivations of the words Odra and Utkala with the meaning of non-Aryan origin. None of these words Oḍrāśhṭra, Oḍeśa or - Oresa give us Oḍiśā through phonetic changes of Prākṛita grammar. These derivations have not been challenged by any one and so we do not exactly know as to how and when our country was known as Oḍiśā and we, the people of Oḍiśā and our language as Oḍiā. Let us see how history helps us in our investigation.

In the Bhāgavata, IX. 5.23 we find a verse which narrates that the queen Sudeshṇā bore six sons named Aṅga, Vaṅga, Kalinga, Suhma, Paṇḍra and Odra to her husband king Bali by the sage Dīrghatamā and the Viśayas (Countries) over which they ruled were called after their names. Again in the same Bhāgavata we find the king Sudyumnā had three sons named Utkala, Gaya and Vinitāśva; according to Vāyu-Purāṇa (85.19) and Harivamśa (10.9) we find that the country allotted to Utkala was known as Utkalarāśhṭra. Thus we find that Oḍravīśaya and Utkalarāśhṭra from Purāṇas. The words Odra and Utkala find mention even in the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata associated with Kalinga which was situated near the river Baitaraṇī.

These reference from the Purāṇas do not help us much in giving definite historical data but from them we only know that historical traditions have been faithfully recorded there.

In Purushottamadeva's *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha* Odra and Utkala are described as synonyms. As the date of Purushottamadeva is not well established the work *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha* does not help us much for the history of these words relating to earlier period of the Indian history. Let us see how the epigraphic records and well known Sanskrit works help in furnishing us with data on the history of the words Odra from which geographical word Oḍiṣā and ethnic and linguistic word Oḍiā have been derived. According to Prākṛita grammar Oḍiṣā and Oḍiā are tadbhava words from Odra, and Utkala is the tatsama word from Utkala.

During the third and second century B. C. we have the edict of Asoka at Dhauli and Jaugada and the Hātigumphā inscription of Khāravela at Khandagiri which mention Kalinga and so the southern limits of Odra or Utkala of the Pauranic tradition did not extend beyond the Mahānadi at that period.

The earliest reference to Odra as the literary language finds mention in Bharata's *Nāṭyaśāstra* which is dated according to some in the first century A. D. and others one or two centuries later. Kālidāsa describes Utkala which was geographically situated to the south of Vaṅga and north of Kalinga. Balarāma-mihira was living in the 6th century A. D. and in his *Bṛhat Saṃhitā* mention of Odra and Utkala as geographical place names is met with. Thus we find that the word Odra has been used by famous authors at different times with ethnic, linguistic and geographic significance. During the 7th century A. D. Yuan Chwang, the Chinese traveller mentions Odra lying south-west of Karnaśuvarna and north of Koṅgada and Kalinga. The Sore copper-plates dated in the 6th century A. D. mention Odravishaya and Uttara Toshala and Midnapore copperplate belonging to Saśaṅka mentions Utkala. Odra also finds mention in the epithet 'Caudodādi-Kalinga-Kośa'ajati' of Harṣadeva of Kāmarupa. The Bhauma inscriptions mention Uttara Toshala Utkala and Dakṣhiṇa Toshala; Koṅgada maṇḍala was included within Dakṣhiṇa Toshala. Rājasekhara in his *Kāvya-mīmāṃsā* mentions Kalinga-Kośa'a-Teśha'a-Utkala. The copper-plates of Gayāda Tuṅga mention Odravishaya. Rājendra Cholas inscriptions mention in 1025 A. D. Kosala, Yayātinagara and Oddavishaya. The Dirghasi inscription mentions Utkala in Sanskrit and Oddavishaya in the Telugu text. The Vaṅga inscriptions from the time of Chodagaṅga to Narasiṃha deva IV e.g. from the first quarter of the 12th century A. D. to first quarter of 15th the century A. D. mention Utkala. The Muslim historians of the 10th and 11th centuries A. D. always have described this part of the country as Jajnapur. Towards the end of the 14th

century Shams-i Siraj Afif has described at one place 'Jajunagar-Uḍisā' in his *Tarikh-i-Firozshahi*. Firozshah invaded Orissa in 1461 A. D. Kapilendra Deva's Jagannath temple inscription dated 1443 A. D. mentions, Oḍiśārājya. Sāraladāsa in his *Oriya Mahābhārata* (Adiparva) writes that Oḍiśa is the another name of Oḍarāśhṭra. In Ferishta's account on the other hand relating to the account of Nizam Shah and Mahammed Shah III (1461-1422) of Bahmanis of Kulbarga, "*Jajunagar* and Oḍiśa are mentioned as totally separate territories" but in Nizamuddin's *Tarikh-i Akbari* only Oḍiśā finds mention. So Ferishta's account on the existence of two separate kingdoms called *Oḍisa* and *Jajunagar* does not find corroboration even from the contemporary Muslim history.

The above references go to prove that Oḍra-vishaya of the 7th century A. D. was popular as Oḍḍavishaya in the 11th century A. D. Oḍḍavishya was perhaps changed into Oḍaviśa which form has not been found from any inscription. Oḍaviśā was changed into Oḍiviśā as mentioned by Taranath, the Tibetan historian, who perhaps wrote it from some earlier account. The form Oḍiviśā was further shortened in Oḍviśā which form was current certainly earlier to 1360 A.D. when Uḍisā was written by Afif. So it appears that Oḍiśā was derived from Oḍravishaya through the following phonetic changes, Oḍravishaya-Oḍḍvishaya-Oḍaviśā-Oḍiviśā-Oḍviśā-Oḍiśā. Bharata described Oḍra as Vibhāsha and through phonetic changes the Oḍra became Oḍriya whence Oḍiā has been derived.

The earliest use of the word Oḍiśā is thus dated some where in the middle of the 14th Century A. D. The use of the word Oḍiā is found in the Dantewārā inscription of Bastar dated in the middle of 14th century A. D. vide *Epigraphia Indica* Vol. XI.

The Pauranic form Utkala is still popular. Those who maintain that Utkala is derived from *Uttara Kalinga* have not produced any evidence on the use *Uttara-Kalinga* from any inscription or literature.

PIPLI

The Forgotten Capital of Moghul Orissa.

By Sri Asghar Ali

On 9-1-53 Janab Syed Fazl Ali, the Governor of Orissa, permitted me an interview and asked me to write a historical note on the Lalbagh Palace, at present used as Raj Bhawan of Orissa. While I was busy in collecting materials for the work entrusted, I discovered in some old Persian records that Pipli, at present a small village on the Cuttack-Puri road, at a distance of about 2½ miles from Cuttack, was the Capital of Orissa in the reign of Jehangir (1605-1627), the fourth great Moghul Emperor of India. In his Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri (pp. 391-92, Nawal Kishore Press, Lucknow) while giving an account of the events of his 19th regnal year (1624 A.D.) Jehangir gives a detailed description of Prince Khurram's (later on Emperor Shah Jehan) revolt, and his march from the Deccan towards Agra through Pipli, Cuttack, Burdwan, Dacca, Patna and Thusi near Allahabad. The English translation of the text is given below :—

Meanwhile there came a note from Ibrahim Khan Fateh Jang (Subedar of Bengal)...In that note he writes that the unfortunate (Prince Khurram) entered into Orissa. By chance at that time Ahmed Baig Khan, nephew of Ibrahim Khan had gone to put down the rebellion of some Zemindars of hilly tracts (of Khurda). On hearing the news of this unfortunate incursion which was quite unexpected and without his knowledge and information he was extremely sorry and shocked. Perforce he abandoned the campaign and came to Pipli which is the Capital of that Suba. And taking his ladies with him he ran post-haste to Cuttack which is at a distance of 12 Karoh (about 24 miles) from Pipli on Bengal side. Because time was short, he got no opportunity to make preparations to check the advance of the unfortunate Prince's army and so he left Cuttack and went to Burdwan where Saleh, the nephew of late Asif Khan, was the Jagirdar.

This statement of Jehangir about the status and location of Pipli has been incorporated, by the authors of *Iqbāl-nama-i-Jehāngiri*, *Amal-i-Sāleh*, *Zafarnāmā*, *Bādshāh-nāmā* and *Maāsirul Omera*.

On 31.1.53 I personally visited Pipli and found the following monument still existing there :—

1. One small mosque built during the reign of Aurangzeb with Persian inscriptions which I hope to explain later on.

2. Four tombs of holy saints one *Astānā* of which was built during the regime of Nawab Mohammad Taqi Khan. This appears from the Persian inscriptions which I hope to explain later on.

3. A mound with many acres of land around it overgrown with thorny bushes and bamboos.

4. A big dome near the mound resembling the one at Qadam Rasul premises in the Cuttack town. The whole dome is not intact. Some portion of it has fallen down. The plaster used in the dome is a peculiar stuff resembling lead. The stuff appears to be the same as was used in the Jaunpur bridge built by Firoz Shah Tughlak. Any way, I have not yet seen anything like this in any ancient monument of Orissa. Local people call it *maqarba*.

5. A tower about 50ft. high, 8 to 10 ft. in diameter, half of which is covered under heap of earth and rubbish etc., and the remaining half visible with a stone stair-case sort of thing leading from the bottom to the top. The plaster used in this tower is also the same as that used in the dome.

Nos. 1 and 2 are near the main road running from Cuttack to Puri. Nos. 3, 4 and 5 are in the interior at a distance of about one mile from the road.

The mosque referred to above in item no. 1 bears the following Persian inscriptions :—

PERSIAN TEXT (See Appendix A)
English Translation

“With the name of Allah the most Gracious and merciful.
“There is no god but God and Mohammad, is this Prophet,

"During the reign of Emperor Aurangzeb who due to his great justice was affectionate to the people of the world.

"Abdul Aziz, perfection of the world parsionified may Divine help accompany him ! laid the foundation of a mosque at Pipli the quality of which cannot be described by minute observers even.

"When intellect did not find its equal in the world, it sank in deep meditation to fix a suitable date of of its construction.

"From the numerical figures of this verse—ze tūbā albāb baitul atique—the date was counted i.e. "1085 Hijra, Here is the sacred door of the sacred house".

"This mosque was constructed by Abdul Aziz son of Abdul Karim son of Mirza Ansari in the year one thousand and eighty five Hijra in the month of Ramzan—1085 Hijra"—1674 A. D.

This mosque is in ruins. The stone slabs on which there are the above inscriptions have fallen off and are at present kept in an M. E. School premises nearby. As I have stated above, this mosque is a very small one. It does not resemble in architecture to any mosque of Orissa built in Moghul times.

The Persian inscriptions on the Astānā of the holy saint referred to in item no. 2 are the following :—

PERSON TEXT (See Appendix B)
English Translation

"With the name of Allah the most Gracious and merciful.

"Through the Divine power of the verse there is no god, but God and Mohammad is his prophet On the 10th day of the sacred month of Moharrum; 16th regnal year of Mohammad Shah Badshah Ghazi, during the regime of Nawab Mohammad Taqi Khan Bahadur as Subedar of Orissa under the supervision of a slave of this Durgah which gives shelter to mankind named Shaikh Fetahullah, son of Fasihullah resident of Qasba Unam (Unan), Sarkar Lucknow, Suba Qudh, this house, the great Astana was completed."

The Astana does not exist. The stone slab bearing the inscriptions are at present kept in the premises of the M. E. School near by. The inscription does not mention the name of

the holy saint. But local people say that his name was Hazrat Syed Sulaiman. The tomb, however, exists, although in a bad condition. It is near the M. E. School.

The original village of Pipli does not exist. Local people say that in the past it existed in front of the mound referred to in item no. 3 above, which is now overgrown with thorny bushes and bamboos. They also say that about 100 years ago an epidemic visited the village in consequence of which majority of its inhabitants died, while those who survived left it and settled down in some other villages nearby.

From what I have stated above it would be quite clear that Pipli was the first Capital of Moghul Orissa. The reason why it was preferred to Cuttack is not far to seek. In the first place, the geographical position of Cuttack was suitable for defensive fight only. Secondly, under the conditions and circumstances obtaining in the reign of Jehangir. The geographical position of Piple was of great strategic importance. Ahmadnagar had been conquered in the reign of Akbar. But other offshoots of the Bahmani kingdom particularly Bijapur and Golconda continued to remain a source of nuisance to the moghuls till 1688 when they were finally annexed to the Moghul Empire by Aurangzeb. While describing the route of Prince Khurram's march from the Deccan towards Agra, Jehangir in his Tuzuk-i-Jehangiri says.

"Between the borders of Orissa and the Deccan there is a fortified place on one side of which there is a high mountain and on the other side there is a lake and the sea. And here the ruler of Golconda had built a very strong fort equipped with powerful artillery. And it is not possible for any one to pass through this fortified route without the permission and connivance of Qutbul Mulk, the ruler of Golconda. The unfortunate Prince therefore, marched into the Suba of Orissa with the guidance and connivance of Qutbul Mulk, the ruler of Colconda."

From the location of villages still inhabited by the Muslims in the Puri District it is quite clear that military experts of Jehangir had made vast preparations to guard against this dangerous route. With piple as vertex one line of defence extended to the south right up to Malud a Purgana near the entrance of Chilka lake; while the other line of defence extended to the east right up to the sea on the Kakatpur side. On the line extending from Pipli to Malud there are still existing a number of villages predominantly inhabited by Muslims. One of

these villages is Ahmedpur, about 10 miles south of Pipli. I have just come to know that at Ahmadpur there are ruins of an ancient fort. It is, therefore, significant that in 1624 the Moghul Subedar of Pipli was Mirza Ahmed Baig Khan. On the other hand there are also Muslim villages on the line extending from Pipli to Kakatpur. One of the villages is Nepaniagarh, now known as Shujagarh, about 2 miles from Kakatpur after name of Nawab Shujandin Mohammad Khan the predecessor and father of Nawab Mohammad Taqi Khan. At Shujagarh also there are ruins of an ancient fort. In December last I saw in the possession of a man resident of village Nayabat about 6 miles from Kakatpur, a Purwana issued by the Sadrus Sadur of Nawab Mohammad Taqi Khan to one Mirza Khoda Bakhsh who was the Qiladar of Shujagarh. The descendants of this Mirza Khoda Bakhsh are now residing in village Bislipara at a distance of about a furlong from Nayabat. One Mirza Abadul Haque Baig B. A. L. T. at present, serving as Headmaster of Sungra High English School, happens to be a descendant of Mirza Khoda Bakhsh.

It is interesting to note in this connection that these villages referred to above are inhabited by Muslims who are the Mirzas or Moghuls. Hence it can safely be concluded that strategic reasons were responsible for the selection of Pipli as the Capital of Orissa in the reign of Jehangir.

This note, I must confess, is only in a diary form. But there can be no doubt that it is a pioneer work which I have been able to do snatching away spare hours from my main work which is quite different. The fact remains that more work is to be done in shape of archaeological survey and excavations. Given due encouragement and recognition I hope to be able to present the work in a scientific form which will certainly throw new light on the history of Orissa in Moghul times. And there can be no denying the fact the history of the Moghul Orissa is still shrouded in mystery.

PURUSHOTTAMA DEVA, THE LEXICOGRAPHER

By Sri K. N. Mahapatra

Purushottama Deva, the author of the lexicons called (1) *Trikāṇḍaśeṣha*, (2) *Hārāvalī*, (3) *Ekākshara Kosha* and (4) *Dvīrūpakosha* has generally been identified by the scholars¹ of Orissa with Purushottama Deva (1466-1497 A. D.) the famous *Sūryavamṣī* Gajapati King of Orissa. The scholars of Bengal on the other hand have written from time to time to prove that Purushottama Deva, the lexicographer belonged to Bengal and was a contemporary of Lakshmana Sena, the King of Bengal.² So there exists a long-standing controversy regarding the date and the place where this famous lexicographer flourished.

The theory generally accepted by the scholars of Orissa is not tenable in view of the fact that Purushottama Deva, to whom the authorship of the four lexicons noted above is attributed, flourished before Sarvānanda, who quotes from these above works in his '*Tikāsarvasva*' a commentary on the *Amarakosha*. The date of this commentary has been derived from the text as 1159 A. D. quoted below :

"Idānīm saikāśīti-varshādhika-sahasreka paryantena sakābdakālena" (Saka year 1081 or 1169 A. D.)

and

"śaṣṭhivarshādhika dvichatvāriṃśa chhchhatāni

Kalisāndhyayā bhūtāni" (4260 Kaliyuga year or 1169 A.D.)³

There are two palm-leaf manuscripts of this '*Tikā-Sarvasva*' commentary written in the Oriya characters of the 18th century in the Manuscripts collection of the Orissa Museum. Both of them contain the text quoted above, which gives the date of this

1. (a) Article entitled "*Trikandasesha abam Purushottama Deva* by late Pandita Mrityunjaya Rath published in the now defunct Oriya monthly "*The Mukura*", Vol. VII, 1913, No. 2, pp. 31-44.
- (b) *Utkala Itihasa* by late Pandita Krupasindhu Misra, p. 138.
- (c) *Orissa Itihasa* by Dr. H. K. Mahatab, p. 169.
2. (a) *Descriptive Catalogue of Sanskrit manuscripts in the collection of Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. VI, by H. P. Shastri, p. 294,
- (b) *The Bengali Commentators of the Amarakosha* by N. N. Das Gupta, *Indian Culture*, Vol. II, pp. 262-263.
3. *On the date of Tika-Sarvasva* by Sarvananda published by S. C. Banerjee. *J. R. A. S.*, 1928, pp. 900-901.

work. Thus it can definitely be said that this lexicographer, whose works were well known by 1169 A. D., must have flourished some years before 1169 A. D. and as such he may tentatively be placed before 1130 A. D.

Secondly Medinīkara, son of Prānakara and author of the popular lexicon called Nānārtha Śabdakosha or Medinī-kosha, who was almost a contemporary of Sarvānanda, mentions the names of Hārāvalī and Trikāṇḍaśeṣha in his work while giving a list of nearly thirty other lexicons which were in circulation before his time.

“उत्पलिनी-शृङ्गार-संसारवर्त-नाममाला स्यान्

× × × × ×

हारावत्यभिधानं त्रिकाण्डशेषं च रत्नमालां च

अपि बहुदोषं विश्वकोशकोषं च मुनिचार्यम्”

In the same article late Pandit Sharmā wrote about Medinī-Kosha as follows “The Medinī-Kosha by Medinīkara is almost nothing else than a new edition of the Viśvaparakāśa, although it condemns Viśva as having many defects.” Viśvaparakāśa by Maheśvara was written in 1111 A. D. So Medinī-Kosha which was a new edition or imitation of Viśva is tentatively to be placed in the middle of the 12th. century.

The facts stated above, prove beyond doubt that Purushottama Deva, the author of the lexicons T. S. (Trikāṇḍaśeṣha will here-after be abbreviated as T. S.) and Hārāvalī etc., who lived before both Sarvānanda and Medinīkara belonging to the twelfth century, cannot be identified with the Gajapati King Purushottama Deva, (1466-1497 A. D.) as there is an interval of more than three centuries between their dates.

The second theory that Purushottama was a contemporary of Lakshmaṇa Sena, the king of Bengal (1169-1205 A. D.) is also equally untenable as there is an interval of at least forty years according to the date discussed above.

But the time of this lexicographer tentatively fixed above before 1130 A. D. may be pushed back still further by the facts given below :—

Late Mm. H. P. Shastri, while examining the manuscripts preserved in the Darbar library of Nepal during the last decade of the last century was able to discover four stray leaves of a very old manuscript of T. S. about which we wrote as follows. "To the same century (12th century) before Muhammadan conquest or perhaps earlier belong on palaeographic grounds the four leaves namely (1-20-84 and 8.) of the T. S. Abhidhāna, a supplement to the Amarakosha by Purushottama Deva, a Buddhist Paṇḍita, decorated with the title of Mahāmahopādhyāya. He is the writer of a large number of works on Grammar, Lexicography and spelling."⁵

If a portion of the manuscript of T. S. written in the characters of the 12th century, or earlier is found in the far off and inaccessible kingdom of Nepala, the compilation of this work may safely be assigned to the eleventh century, as it must have taken at least fifty years in those days of very slow communications for the circulations of this work into Nepala.

Due to close resemblance between some paryāyas (lists of synonyms) of T.S. and Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi by a greatest Jaina Paṇḍita Hemachandra, some scholars are inclined to place Hemachandra before Purushottama. But this view is not acceptable as Hemachandra wrote this work during the reign of his patron Kumāra Pāla (1143-1174 A.D.) a king of Gujarat, when T.S. had already gained reputation as a standard lexicon. Comparison of the geographical descriptions given in both the lexicons clearly shows that Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi of Hemachandra was written many years after T.S. As for example it may be noted that Hemachandra mentions Kānyakubja and Mahodaya as the names of the same city i.e. Kānyakubja and Mahodaya⁶ and gives Harikela as a synonym of vaṅga e.g. 'Vaṅgastu Harikellīya' whereas Vaṅga, Harikela and especially Mahodaya are not mentioned in T.S. Taus Purushottama was a predecessor to the famous Jaina poet and author Hemachandra (1088-1172 A. D.) and as such he may safely be placed before 1100 A. D.

This date fixed for Purushottama Deva may still be pushed back by one century if the internal evidence furnished by the

5. Report on the Search of Sanskrit Manuscripts (1895-1900) by M. H. P. Shastri, pp. 7-8.

6. Verse 113. Abhidhāna Chintāmaṇi

7. Verse 157. -do-

text of T. S. and Hārāvalī is taken into consideration. In the beginning of the T. S. only the famous lexicographer Amara and his Kosh are mentioned e.g.

अलौकिकत्वादमर स्वकोशे नयानि मांमाति समुल्लिखेत् ।
 बिलोक्य तैरप्यधूना प्रचार मयं प्रयत्नः पुरापोतमस्य ॥
 वगैकमस्तवानामलिङ्गयो स्तूपदेशता ।
 परिभाषादिकं सर्वं मयाप्यमरकोषवत् ॥

From the above two verses it is quite clear that the author wanted to make his work a supplement to the famous Amara-kosha, which already gained great popularity before his days. He does not mention any other lexicon or lexicographer in any other verse of T. S.

In the closing verses (No. 275 and No. 276) of his other work Hārāvalī, he gives the names of three lexicons namely Śabdārṇava, Utpalini, Samsārāvarṭta compiled respectively by Vāchaspati, Vyāḍi and Vikramāditya, e.g.

शब्दार्णव-उत्पलिनी-संसारवर्तइत्यपि
 कोषाः वाचस्पति-व्याडि विक्रमादित्य निमिताः ॥
 आदाय सारभेतेषां अन्येषां च विज्ञेयतः
 हारावली निबद्धेयं मया द्वादशवत्सरैः ॥

These two verses do not prove helpful in fixing his time, as the three lexicographers mentioned by him were the predecessors of the famous Amarasimha according to the opinion of Mm. H. P. Shāstri⁸. In the verse 279 of the Hārāvalī Purushottama Deva mentions the names of two scholars named Janamejaya and Dṛtisimha, who helped him much in the compilation of Hārāvalī.

सुधिया जनमेजयन यत्नादृतिहिहने समं निरूपितेयं ।
 विदितो बहुदशभिः कवीन्द्रे भूविकोषानुमतः शमोमदीयो ।

But nothing is yet known about these two contemporary scholars to whom he was so much obliged. So, this information

8. T. S. First Kanda verses 2 & 3.

9. Des Cat. of Sanskrit Manuscripts Vol. VI, Vyakarana Manuscripts, pp. C XXI to C XXIV.

does not help us in any way in arriving at a definite conclusion regarding his time. On the contrary lack of information about the following famous lexicographers who flourished between circa 950-1150 A. D. is significant e. g.

(a) Śāśvata, author of *Anekārthasamuchchaya* (Circa 10th century).

(b) Halāyūdhya, author of *Abhidhāna Ratnamālā* (10th century).

(c) Yādavaprakāśa, author of *Vaijayantī* (11th century).

(d) Maheśvara, author of *Viśvaprakāśa* (1111 A. D.)

Had Purushottama known them or their works, he might have referred to them in the same way as he has mentioned Amara, Vyāḍi, Vāchaspati, Vikramāditya, Janamejaya and Dṛṣisipha. His silence about the four great lexicographers stated above is perhaps due to the fact that they flourished after him. This supposition is corroborated by the evidence given below. In the 'Abhidhāna Ratnamālā' of Halāyūdhya, and in the 'Vaijayantī' of Yādavaprakāśa, 'Mahodaya' is given as another name of the ancient city of Kānyakubja.¹⁰ This term 'Mahodaya' gained prominence by its use in the epigraphic records of Dharmapāla, a greatest Pāla king of Bengal, and those of Mahendra Pāla and Mahīpāla (910-940 A. D.) the Pratihara Emperors of Northern India, ruling from Kānyakubja. In his 'Kāvya Mīmāṃsā', Rājasekhara has described the glories of Mahodaya in very glowing terms. But in the T. S. only Kuśasthalam a Puranic name is given as a synonym of Kānyakubja e. g. 'Kuśasthalam Kānyakubjam'. Had Purushottama known this new name of Kānyakubja, which became very popular throughout northern India from the middle of the 9th century A.D., he would not have omitted it in the paryāya of Kānyakubja. Thus he may be taken as a predecessor of Halāyūdhya, and Yādava Prakāśa and even of Rājasekhara, who flourished in the beginning of the tenth century A.D. So 900 A. D. may be tentatively taken as the posterior limit for Purushottama.

The anterior limit for this lexicographer may be fixed with the help of the internal evidence furnished by comparison of the text of the T. S. to that of the *Amarakosha*, of which it is a

supplement. Amara gives seventeen names for Buddha and five for Śākyamuni, but Purushottama adds thirty seven new names for Buddha and three new names for Śākyamuni. In the Amarakosha after the synonyms of Buddha and Śākyamuni, the names of the Brahmanical god Brahmā are given. But in the T. S. after the two paryāyas of Buddha and Śākyamuni, two names of the son of Śākyamuni, one name of the brother of Śākyamuni, two names of the Śrāvakas, five names of Pratyeka Buddha, seven names of Mārīchī, twenty-two names of Lokanātha, twenty one names of the Buddhist goddess Tārā, four names of Yaksha, twenty-four names of Mañjuśrī, eight names of Heruka, three names of Maitreya, five names of the Buddhist Śramaṇa and five names of the Bhikṣu-śiṣya are given. After all these new paryāyas, the names of Brahmā are given. These additional lists of names given by Purushottama furnish the clue to fix the anterior limit of his date with some amount of certainty.

Only a few of these new names having historical significance are discussed below.

(a) 'VAJRADHARA' as a name of Mañjuśrī :

Dr. B. C. Bhattacharya, writes about the significance of this term after examining the Mahāyāna literature in Sanskrit and the accounts of the Chinese travellers :—"From what follows we come to the conclusion that all Sanskrit works mentioning the five Dhyānī Buddhas or Vajra Ihar or Vajrasattva or any of the later gods cannot belong to a period prior to the time of Indrabhūti (Cirea 700-750 A. D.)"¹¹

(b) MAHASUKHA as a name of Buddha :—About the significance of this term Dr. B. C. Bhattacharya writes thus "But in the eighth century people were not satisfied with Vijñanavāda. They imported into it another element called the Mahāsukhavāda. × × × It is from Mahasukha that Vajrayāna originated."¹² Elsewhere the same learned scholar writes "The theory of Mahāsukha also appears for the first time in this work (Jñanasiddhi of Indrabhūti) with all its various ramifications"¹³.

(c) 'AKANISHTAGA' as a name of Buddha :—This speaks of the Akanishṭha heaven where the five Dhyānī Budhas are

11. Buddhist Iconography, Foreword, p. XXIV.

12. *Ibid* p. XI.

13. *Ibid* p. XXVII.

said to live in peaceful meditation, and the very first thing that Vajrayāna-brought with it was the five Dhyānī Buddhas and their Śaktis.

(d) 'SĀMANTABHADRA' as a name of Buddha :—Sāmantabhadra is the Boddisattva of Vairochana who is one of the five Dhyānī Buddhas.]

(e) 'VAJRĪ and KARUNĀ KŪRCHAH' as two names of Buddha are also the terms having thier origin in the Vajrayāna. Similarly Vajrakalikā, Vajrakapālī and Sukhāvatīśvar are the names of purely Vajrayāna deities.

By a close study of T. S. I have found that most of the names of the Vajrayāna gods and goddesses, given in this work are not even found in the 'Sāadhanamālā' which is an authority on Vajrayāna. Thus most of the words given currency to by the Vajrayāna system, have been included by Purushottama in his T. S. This clearly proves that T. S. was written at a time when Vajrayāna was weilding great influence on the minds of the people. It is now admitted by the scholars that Vajrayāna was introduced into the Mahāyāna system by Indrabhūti (circa 700-750 A. D.), the king of Uḍḍiyāna, which can satisfactorily be identified with Orissa*. From what has been stated above, it can defininitely be concluded that Purushottama flourished after Indrabhūti and as such 750 A. D. may be fixed as the antirior limit for his date.

In this connection, the list of names of the great Brāhmanical God Vishnu as given in the T. S. is also equally important. Indrabhūti, the founder of the Vajrayāna system began his famous work Jñanasidhi after offering his prayer to Jagannātha, a Buddhist deity, in the Mangalācharaṇa e.g.

प्रणिपत्य जगन्नाथं सर्वजिनबराञ्चितं
सर्वबुद्धमयं त्रिदिव्यापिनं गगनोपमं (14).

In four other verses e.g. verses 27 and 92 of the first chapter, verse 28 of the second chapter and verse 8 of the fifth chapter Jagannātha is praised as a great Buddhist God. But in the T. S. Jagannāth is not given as a synonym of Buddha or a Buddhist god, but as another name of Vishu e.g.

* A separate paper will be published on this subject by me in a subsequent issue of this Journal.

14. First verse of 'Jñanasiddhi' published by the Oriental Research Institute, Baroda.

हेमचन्द्रः-सतावर्त्तो-मनु-शास्त्र-वारीशाः
वर्द्धमान-सतानन्दो जगन्नाथः-सुयामुनः ॥ 15

Some years must have passed after Indrabhūti for the conversion of the Buddhist god Jagannāth to a Brāhmanical one. According to tradition during his stay at Puri, the great Śaṅkha-rāchārya (788-820) A. D.) defeated the Buddhist scholars by his irrefutable arguments, and vast learning; converted most of them as his disciples, and proclaimed the identity of Jagannātha, till then a Buddhist god with the great Brāhmanical god Vishnu or Purushottama of the Gītā. This tradition seems to be based on historical truth and is corroborated by the evidence furnished by the 'Anargha Rāghava Nātakam' which was written within half a century of Śaṅkar's visit to Puri. This famous drama was presented at the time of a festival (Yātra) of God Purushottama, who was being worshipped on the shore of the eastern sea, e.g.

नान्दन्ते सूत्रधारः—प्रलमतिविस्तरेण । लवणोद-वेला-
बनालीतमालतरु-कन्दलस्य त्रिभुवनमीलिमण्डनमहानीलमग्रे;
कमलाकुचकल शकिलिकस्तुरिकापत्राङ्कुरस्य भगवतः
पुरुषोत्तमस्य यात्राया मुपस्थानीयाः सनातनः—

This world-famous God Purushottama, the consort of Kamalā, worshipped near the sea shore, in whose YĀTRA (perhaps car festival), this great drama was presented, is no other than the great god Jagannātha of Puri, to whom Indrabhūti offered his prayers as a Buddhist deity nearly a century before. Murāri the author of this drama has been assigned to the end of the ninth century A. D. "It would not be unjustifiable, therefore to place Murāri at the end of the ninth century or the beginning of the tenth century".¹⁵ Thus when Murāri wrote this drama some time after circa 850 A. D. the Buddhist god Jagannātha at Puri, must have been well-known through out India as god Purushottama, the husband of Lakshmi. As the Lexicographer Purushottama includes Jagannāth in the list of synonyms of the great Brāhmanical god Vishnu, instead that of Buddha he may tentatively be assigned to the period of Murāri who also flourished before Rājasekhara. So 850 A. D. may be taken as the anterior limit for this lexicographer.

All these facts go to prove that Purushottama flourished in the ninth century A. D. before Rājasekhara and as such he

15. T. S. Svargavarga, Verse 32.

16. Anargha Raghava, Prathama Anka.

17. History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I, by Dr. S. N. Dasgupta and Dr. S. K. De, p. 449.

can not be taken as a contemporary of king Lakshmana Sena of Bengal (1179-1205 A. D.), and on no account he can be identified with Gajapati King Purushottama Deva of Orissa (1466-1497 A. D.).

The second question which still awaits solution is the birth place of Purushottama. No definite decision can be arrived at in this matter, for lack of any authentic evidence. But a close study of the text of the T. S. will enable us to throw some new light on this matter. The geographical description given in the T. S. clearly shows that he did not possess much knowledge about the kingdoms of the Deccan, as he does not describe any kingdom, city or region of the southern India to the south of Avantī except Kāñchi. So it may be said that he did not belong to south India. In the 'Bhūmivarga' he states that both Odra and Utkala were the names of the same region e.g. 'Oḍrā Utkalanāmāno'. This statement is accurate as will be shown below. From the account of the Chinese traveller we know that the kingdom of WU-TU (OTA) or Oḍra lay between Karna-suvarna and Koṅgudha or Koṅgaḍa¹⁸ (North Ganjam and a portion of Puri District). From the plate of Somadatta of the year 15, we know that Uttara-Tosali (roughly comprising the area between the Mahānadi and the Kapiśā river) was included in the Oḍra vishaya¹⁹ e.g. 'Oḍravishaye Uttara-Tosalyām'. In the Raghuvamśa of the great poet Kālidāsa, Utkala is stated to be lying between the river Kapiśā in the north and Kalinga in the south. From the Midnapur plate of Śaśānka, we know that Daṇḍa bhukti or Midnapur area was adjoining Utkala i. e. Sahitān Utkaladesen Daṇḍabhuktīm praśāsati²⁰. The most important thing in this Varga is the mention of Vartani and Purbadeśa as identical e.g. 'Vartaniḥ Pūrvadeso.' It is known to all Students of Indian Epigraphy that Vartani which was a 'Vishaya' or district existed on the bank of the Rshikūlyā river in the Ganjam district of Orissa. The earliest mention of this Vishaya is made in the Puri plates of Dharmarāja²¹ who ruled in the seventh century. It is again mentioned in the Phulsara copper-plate grant of Kīrtirāja Deva²² and Polsara plates of Arkeśvara Deva issued in the year 1148 A. D.²³ This shows that Vartani retained its importance from the beginning of the 7th century at least upto the middle

18. On Yuan Chwang. Vol. II by Thomas Watters. pp. 193-198

19. 'Four copper plates from Sore' by N. G. Nazumdar, plate B, E, I, Vol. XXIII, p. 202,

20. J. R. A. S., of Bengal Letters, Vol. XI, 1945, No. 1, pp. 1 to 10.

21. J. B. & O. R. S., Vol. XVI, p. 181.

22. J. A. H. R. S., Vol. III, pp. 30-34.

23. E. I., Vol. XXVIII, No. II pp. 63-67,

of the 12th century. Vartani was not famous like Hastināpur Kānyakubja, Varāṇaś, Kuruksheṭra, Pushapur, Tāmralipti, Dwārakā and Prayāga etc. so as to deserve mention along with these famous places, and other wellknown regions in the Bāūmi-varga of T. S. This only shows the attachment of the author, for this district of very little importance to which he wanted to give some prominence. In verse 23 of the Vārivarga of T. S. Rshikūlyā* is given as a synonym of Gaṅgā. This again shows the partiality of the author for this river of that name flowing in the northern part of the Ganjam district. In the Bhūmi-varga he gives the name of a town called 'Ekachakraṃ' with its two synonyms 'Harigrhaṃ' and Sambhupurī'. In a manuscript of T. S. written in Oriya characters, the reading is 'Ekāmraṃ' and not Ekachakraṃ, according to the opinion of Śrī Lingaraja Misra. If it be so, which is very likely, it must refer to the famous Ekāmra-Kshetra, which is also known as Bhubaneswar. Even if it is taken as 'Ekachakraṃ' it can be identified with the 'Ekachakrapura' which has been described at several places of the Oriya Mahābhārata by Saralā Dāsa, written in circa 1440 A. D., as standing some where near Jāipur. Be it Ekāmraṃ or Ekachakraṃ it was certainly a town situated in Orissa, with which the author was familiar. In the verse 4 of the Śaila varga, while giving the names of the Kulaparvatas he mentions the name of Mahendra first e.g. महेंद्रोमलयः...कुलाचलाः. But in another lexicon the name of Mahendra is not given at all in the list of Kulaparvatas e. g.

हिमवान् निषधो विन्ध्यो माल्यवान् पारिपात्रकः

मन्धमादन मन्वेच हेमवतदादयः नगाः ॥

The attempt made by the author to include and give prominence to Mahendra, a celebrated hill of South Orissa, in the list of Kulā-chalas and Rshikūlyā as a synonym of Gaṅgā might be due to the love of his birth place where they existed. Again elsewhere he writes 'देशे कलिङ्गो' (P. 11)

Thus in the T. S. he has given the names of Mahendra, Kaliṅga, Utkala, Odra, Rshikūlyā, Varttani, Ekachakraṃ or Ekāmraṃ, and Tāmralipti (which formed a part of Orissa for many centuries), whereas he mentions only one place 'Kotivarsha' of Bengal, while the names of Rāḍha, Suhma, Samatata, Vaṅga and Harikela are not found in it and Gaudī

* Among the small rivers of the Ganjam District in Orissa all the three namely Rshikūlyā, Lauguhni, and Vamsadhara find mention by ALBERUNI who flourished during the first quarter of the 11th century, vide Alberuni's India Sachu, p. 267.

is taken as a synonym of Pundra and Vārendri. This shows that he was more familiar with the geography of Utkala than that of Gauda.

In the 'Vārivarga' he has used 'chāmpilā' as a synonym of a river. In the Ganjam area a water-course is still called 'Tāmprā' of which Chāmpilā seems to be a Sanskritised form. The origin of the word Chilkā which now denotes a famous lake of that name in Orissa may be traced to 'Chuluka' e. g. 'Chuluko ghanajambāle' which seems to be a Desī word. Again in the same varga he has given the different names of boats plying in the rivers, used in coastal navigation and by Pulindas, ships sailing over the sea, names of different kinds of fish, and other aquatic animals etc. which speak of his familiarity with the sea. He gives a word 'Pādāraka' for a kind of boat used by the Pulindas, who may be identified with Nulias, who are still to be seen in the coast of Puri and Ganjam Districts; having fish-catching as their hereditary occupation.

All these will lead one to suppose that Purushottama, the lexicographer belonged to the southern Orissa near the sea-shore, which was adjoining the Varttani area in the Rsbikulyā valley not far from the Mahendra mountain. This supposition is corroborated by the fact that a lot of words used in the T. S. are still being used in the Oriya language either in their original or slightly modified forms. A list of some such words is given below.

Page	Oriya word	Sanskrit word in T.S.	Remarks
19	जागर	कोजागर	Śivarātri is still called Jāgara Yātrā in Oriasa.
„	दीपाली	दीपाली	
„	भल	भल्ल (शुभ)	
20	काहाली	काहाल	A musical instrument.
22	केला	केलक (सङ्गधारी नर्तक)	A class of people is called Kela in Orissa, who are expert in dancing, music and display of physical feats.
23	हलाहल	हलाहल (मपं)	There is a story of Halāhala Kumāra in old Oriya literature.
25	बाकु	बाकु (समुद्र)	There is a place called Vāoki Muhāṇa in Puri.
25	परङ्ग	परङ्ग (समुद्र)	The coastal region of the Puri District was known as 'Paṅga Daṇḍapāta'.
26	भेला	भेलक (नोका)	
„	पोलुभ	प्लव, पलव	Used in catching fish.
28	बिल	बिल्ल	
33	बाट	बाट (पथ)	A colloquial Oriya word
„	शासन	शासन	All Brahmana villages in Orissa are called Śāsana.
„	करबाड़	कबंट (बृहत्ग्राम)	Karabāḍa is used for a big Brahmana village.
34	पीठा	पीठं } Tha'ched	
„	चाल	चाल } roof	
„	मञ्जवा	मञ्जक	
35	कवाट	कवाट	
„	कान्धवाड़	कान्धावाट (प्राकार)	
36	पाट	पाट (Stone)	
„	खड़ि	खटी	A stick of soft white stone used in writing.
„	गछ	गच्छ (tree)	
37	मञ्जि	मञ्जि (seed)	
„	कोलि	कोलि (plum)	

Page	Oriya word	Sanskrit word in T S.	Remarks
38	काइञ्च	काकचिञ्चा	Used as a unit in weight.
38	ओउ	उहु (शुद्राम्लपनस)	A kind of fruit.
42	बलणा	बेलान	"
43	हिन्ताल	हिन्ताल	A kind of palm tree grown in the swampy coastal region.
45	पाति	गलेगण्ड	This kind of monkey is found in large numbers in the Puri area.
46	कङ्क	कङ्क	Used still in the Puri District.
46	चिल	चिल्ल (Kite)	
49	भर्भरा	भर्भरा (वेद्या)	
50	खोर	खोर (खञ्ज)	Swelling of the leg and foot caused by elephantiasis.
50	काला	कल्ल (Deaf)	
51	गोदर	गण्डीर	
52	सिघाणि	सिघान (नासामल)	Used in the sense of upanayana.
52	कुलि	कुलुकं (निहामल)	
53	बाहा	बाहा (बाहु)	
54	भापड़	जागुड़ (कुङ्कुम)	A peculiar sound made by the mouth.
56	बटु	बटु	
58	कच्छा	कच्छा	
60	हुलहुली	हुलहुली	An iron chain used to lock up the door.
60	टाकरा	टालकर	
67	शिङ्खला	शृङ्खला	
70	भिञ्जीर	हिञ्जीर	Gymnasium
70	मखड़ा	अशबाट	Pestilence
72	मड़क	मरक]	Earthen jar.
72	माठिया	मात्तिक	Iron laddle
73	करबुलि	खरसोल्ल	A kind of liquid food generally taken by the common people.
73	काञ्जि	काञ्जिक	

Page	Oriya work	Sanskrit word in T.S.	Remarks
73	पुल	पोल (खाद्य)	It is offered as a Bhoga in Puri and Sakligopala.
„	मालिपणा	मालिपणा (तृप्ति)	
„	खई	खदिका	Parched rice
„	तुम्बा	तुम्बा	A kind of pot or measure.
74	हम्बा	हम्बा	
75	बुक्का	बुक्क }	Both the words are still in use in the Sambalpur. Tract
„	बकर	बकैर }	
77	माली	मालीक	A class of Sevakas of the Śiva temples in Orissa.
„	पाञ्जिकार, पाञ्जिमा	पञ्जीवर	
78	सुङ्ग	सुरङ्क (पाठभेद सुरङ्ग)	Tunnel, hole.
„	तकड़ि	तकुं	Weighing scale.
„	हुल	तुल	The two ends of a bow.
79	बारसी	बासी (तलणी)	
91	किलिकिला	किलिकिला (हृष्यनि)	
97	खोलपा	खोलक (पूगकोष)	
119	गञ्ज	गञ्ज	A kind of brass-pot.
124	चटेइ	चटु	A kind of Āsana, made of palm leaf.
127	कोठि, कोठ	कोष्ठ (धान्यागार)	
129	खण्ड	खण्ड	Prepared from molasses and used in Bhoga in Puri & Bhubaneswar.
133	करण	करण (जाति विशेष)	Used in both the senses in Oriya.
207	घण्डीरा	अण्डिर (पुर्ण ओ शक्त)	
212	खरा	खरा (तिग्म स्पर्श)	
227	कलकल	कलकल (कोलाहल)	Used in the sense in Oriya.
230	झाल	झला (आतपोमि)	Used in the sense of sweat.
231	तुलि	तुला (गृहस्तम्भ)	
248	बोला	बोध (मनोज्ञ)	Used still in colloquial language.

Some Examples are given from the Hārāvali

Oriya word	Sanskrit word	Verses	Remark
बहुबुद्धा	बहुबुद्ध (गन्धासु)	83	Still used in the sense of multitude.
फरुषा	फरुषकं (पूगपात्रं)	138	
धारि	धारि (धारि पथिकसंहतिः)	139	
टुकुलि	दिक्करा (नवयोवना)	155	Used in the Sambal-pur tract.
हान्दोला	हिन्दोला (स्याद्दोलिका तु हिन्दोला)	182	Window.
बादुलि	बादुलि (बादुलिस्तरुकुलिका)	186	
कानगुह	कर्णगुह (कर्णगुहं कर्णमलं)	196	
खिड़कि	खड़किका (पश्चद्वारं खड़किका)	197	
चांच	चञ्चा (तुणपूलीतु चञ्चास्यात्)	200	Still used in this sense.
भाम	भामकं (दग्धेष्टकं)	215	
दण्डयात्रा	दण्डयात्रा (दिक्जये वरयात्रा-या दण्डयात्रां विदुर्बुधा)	211	Danḍa yātrā is a great popular festival of Orissa.
छेक	छेक (छेकषट्पदवक्रयो)	253	Still means a cross mark in Oriya.
फेणि	फाणि (फाणिगुंड)	258	A kind of sweat meat.

In his Dvirūpa-Kosha he has given the double forms of words, some of which are still used in Oriya, as is shown below.

Oriya word	Sanskrit word	Verse	Remark
कथा	कथा (कथायां कथिताकथा)	1	
च्छार	च्छार (च्छारः सारोऽपि संमतः)	3	Used in the Sambalpur tract.
वालिका	वालिका (बालुका वालिका तथा)	8	
काङ्ग	काङ्ग (काङ्गः काङ्गः)	14	Cultivated in the hilly tracts of Orissa. A kind of bird.
शारि	शारि (शारिः सारोऽपि कथ्यते)	19	
लज्जा	लज्जा (लज्जा लज्जापुनः प्रोक्ता)	23	
ज्वेष्ठ	ज्वेष्ठ (मासि ज्वेष्ठे तथा ज्वेष्ठः)	29	
पर्वणी	पर्वणी (पर्वस्यात् पर्वणी)	39	
कीला	कीला (कीलः कीलापिकीर्तिता)	41	Crack, rift
फटा	फटा (स्फटा फटाच)	44	
चिकण	चिकण } चिकण चिकणी	51	
चिकण	चिकण }	51	
कुम्भा	कुम्भा (कुम्भी चापि तथा कुम्भा)	57	
पथा	प्रग्राह (प्रग्राहः प्रग्रहोद्वेष्टः)	61	Used in tying cattle.
तुली	तुली (तुली तुला मतं सतां)	63	
काकुडी	कक्कुटी (ककंटी कक्कुटी)	67	A kind of fruit
लाउ	लावूढ (लाबूरलावू)	68	
पोतक	पोतक (पोतिका पोतकाख्याता)	70	A kind of insect
मकुट	मकुट (मकुटं मकुटं तथा)	70	

Some examples from the Ekāksharakosha :—In this Kosha अ and ए are taken as two vowels. It was still the custom in Orissa to teach these two vowels along with the other vowels from अ to झी in the village Pāṭhaśālās. As Purushottama has included these two letters e. g. ममवाचव परम ब्रह्म एः स यादवो महेश्वरो ।" following the Orissan custom he may be taken to be man of Orissa.

From the internal evidence furnished by the texts of the four lexicons, discussed above, it may be presumed that the famous lexicographer Purushottama Deva belonged to Orissa as he was fully familiar with the Oriya language. These works were very popular in Orissa and Hārāvālī Ekākshara Kosha and Dvirūpa Kosha were included in the course of study in all the Pāṭhaśālās in Orissa, till the introduction of the Western system of education in this state.

DESCRIPTION OF ORISSA IN AMIN AHMED RAZI'S HAFT-IQLIM.

By Sri Asghar Ali

Before coming to the main point I should like to say a few words about Amin Ahmed Razi and his Haft-Iqlim. Amin Ahmed Razi, better known as Amin Razi, was a resident of Rai, (a very famous town in Persia) and belonged to a good family of that place. He was the cousin of mirza Ghiyas Beg (the father of the famous Nur Jahan Begum) who rose to a position of great eminence under Akbar and was subsequently distinguished as 'Itamaddaula', the powerful Wazir of Jahangir. The Haft-Iqlim or seven climates is a topographical, historical and biographical encyclopaedia. The information is grouped, as the name suggests, according to climates or divisions of the world. Under each country there is an account of the place, its history, its wonders its curiosities, its chief products etc.

Writing of Agra, Amin Ahmed showers praises upon Akbar of whom he speaks in the present tense. Various other indications point to his having visited India while the great emperor was still on the throne. He seems to have made good use of this opportunity for collecting first hand information about the country of which he fairly gives a detailed account from the earliest times down to Akbar, devoting a special section to the history of the Deccan and a special chapter to a vivid description of Orissa. The Haft-Iqlim was completed in 1593. It was edited by Sir Denison Ross and was published by the Asiatic society of Bengal in 1918.

Speaking of Orissa Amin Ahmed says:—(English translation)

Its annual revenue is 34 lakhs of rupees. It consists of two sarkars. Elephants abound in this country and are very much hunted by the people. The people of this country do not have paper, pen and ink. Palm-leaf is their paper. And from iron they prepare an instrument, one end of which is a scissors and the other end is something like a flag. With this instrument they write on palm-leaf whatever they like. And this writing

continues to exist for many years. ▽ And before the conquest of the country by the Afghans, the Raja of the country was a man called Makund. And he had 400 women and for every one of them he had built a separate house and a separate dressing room. There is a state-paid barber; his duty it is to shave, wash and properly dress any stranger who comes there and take him to one of the guest rooms. The stranger passes the night there and early in the morning goes to another place after getting necessary travelling expenses. This practice they regard as a means of gaining divine favours and blessings in the next world. And when the Raja goes on a state-drive, thousands of men carry on their heads and shoulders baskets and vases full of scented grass and flowers to his right and left and when he reaches his destination the workers immediately lay out a very fine artificial garden. And the Raja of Orissa is called the Gajpati. And in village Purstam* lying under the jurisdiction of the Gajpati on the sea-coast there is a temple of the most wonderful idol of which they call Jagarnath.† And people of India in general have great faith in Jagarnath. and in this temple the Hindus inflict upon their persons deep injuries and cut off their tongues. And when they rub the injured part on the idol, it is immediately healed up. And believer or non-believer whoever shows disrespect to the idol meets with instantaneous death. So much so that (my grand father) khawja Mahammad sharif in his booklet in which he has recorded many wonderful things of the world says that on one occasion Maulanā Lutfullah of Neshāpur, who was a great traveller of lands and seas, went there along with a number of his friends persuaded the Brahmans to allow them to have a look at the idol of course on condition that they would not show any disrespect to the idol when the party entered into the temple, one of them throw spitoon towards the idol and he instantaneously died. The Maulana say that at this incident he was utterly shocked as to what might have been the underlying cause of the exhibition of so great a feat on part of a motion less idol. He further says that when overwhelmed with this sock he went to sleep, somebody during his sleep told him that this difficulty of his would be solved in the holy shrine at Najaf. When the the Maulana at last reached the holy shrine at Najaf he saw in his dream that some body say to him. "The wonderful power exhibited by Jagarnath is due to the fact that it is long since people have been attributing this wonder. Full power to the idol and in course of time this wonderful power is being actually exhibited". And in this country a younger brother cuts objectionable jokes with the wife of his elder brother and the elder brother does not take exception at all, rather, he gets highly pleased.

* Purushottam or Puri, † Jagannath.

From the about account of Amin Ahmed Razi it is quite obvious that in the medieval period there was no objection to Muslims entering into the temple of Jagannath and Muslims too used to honour the Hindu deities. And this fact is corroborated by Gholam Hasain Salim, the auother of the Razus-salatin (pp. 18 and 19). Giving an account of Orissa on the eve of its conquest by the Afghans Gholam Hosain Salim says :—(English Translation)

And Jagarnath, which is a big temple of the Hindus, is in this Subah. It is said when the Hindus reach Parsutam where Jagarnath is, first they shave their heads like Musalmans and at the first door of the house of shaikh Kabir who was a great saint of his time and whose parents were weavers, they eat and drink his food and water which is called in the language of that cuntry 'torani'. After having done so, they proceed to worship their god of Jagarnath. At Parsutam, Hindus unlike their practice elsewhere, eat together with Musalmans and other races. And all sorts of cooked food sell in the bazar and Hindus eat drink together.

Describing the struggle of Mahabat Jung Nawab Ali Verdi Khan with Nawab Murshid Quli Khan, son-in-law of Nawab Shujauddin Mohammed Khan, the author of Seirul Motaakhkerin incidentally mentions that, (about the year A.D. (1740). One Hafiz Qadir, Raja of Ratipur* Khurdah, was the superintendent of the temple of Jagarnath (Serial Motaakhkherin p. 498). In the Original Persian text the word. 'Mālik' has been used. This word means "Owner, master, superintendent, proprietor, man-in-charge etc." Any way it is an interesting and remarkable fact showing that a Musalman was once at the head of this Hindu Temple of Jagarnath. Besides, I have examined a good many sanads granted by Aurangzeb, Farrikhsayer, Mohammad Shah, Nawab Shu auddin Mohammad Khan, Nawab Mohammad Taqikhan, Nawab Murshid Quli Khan etc. donating lands for offering 'Bhog' in the temple of Jagarnath and other temples of Orissa.

*Rathipur was once the Capital of the Khurda Rajas.

A NEW FIND OF KUSHANA COINS IN ORISSA

By B. V. Nath.

The chronology of the dynastic rules over Orissa is still shrouded in obscurity. The discovery of copper plates and coins from time to time in the Orissa has shed a considerable flood of light on the dark periods of her history. The coins, so far discovered, represent only a few dynasties either ruling or having supremacy over Orissa. To estimate them, a new variety of Punch marked coins of Pre-Maurya and Mauryan age, Kushana and Puri-Kushana coins, Gupta gold coins, coins of Sri Nanda Datta, Kalachuri and Yādava gold coins, Gaṅga gold fanams and Silver coins of some Mughal emperors have been discovered. Coins of many known and unknown dynasties are still in the dark bosom of the earth awaiting the labour of the archaeologists. During the first quarter of the year 1953, I have brought some real Kushana copper coins from Cuttack District of Orissa, that form the subject matter of this paper. While writing on them, many problems of intricate nature have been met with most plausible reasons.

Several times, copper coins of Kushana rulers have been discovered in Orissa being associated with Puri Kushana types. In the year 1893, below two feet earth, at Gurubai salt factory near Manikpatna in the Puri District, 84 copper coins of Kushana rulers were discovered in association with Puri-Kushana coins.¹ J. D. Beglar, during his tour in Ganjam district, found some Indo-scythian coins near Jaugada². These coins were no other than the Kushana and Puri Kushana coins. In the year 1912, 910 copper coins resembling Puri-Kushana types were sent from Balasore to Royal Asiatic Society³. In the year 1923, a hoard of Puri Kushana coins along with the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka was discovered at Bhanjakia⁴ in Mayurbhanja State. Just after one year of the discovery, some Kushana and Puri Kushana coins were also similarly noticed during the time

1. *Proceedings of A. S. B.* 1895 pp 61-65.

2. *Archaeological Survey of India Reports* Vol. XIII p 116.

3. *Archaeological Survey of India* 1924-25 p 130.

4. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. II p 123

of excavation at Viratagarh⁵ near Khichling of the same District. Late R. D. Banerji has described a hoard⁶, found in Mayurbhanj, which contained altogether 282 copper coins, out of which 112 in number were purely of Kanishka and Kanishka. Raj Kumar Sri Lakshmi Narayan Bhanja Deo of Keonjhar showed me in the year 1947, nearly 135 Kushana and Puri Kushana coins, which were found from 3 feet below the surface at Sitabhinjhi in the year 1934. Sri P. Acharya, Archaeologist of ex-Mayurbhanj State, mentions to have collected a few number of these Kushana and Puri-Kushana coins from Keonjhar. The Keonjhar hoard has not yet been properly studied and discussed. Another new hoard of Puri-Kushana coins has been brought to Orissa State Museum by Sri P. Acharya from Bhanjania in Mayurbhanj District in the month of November 1953. The hoard is important since it contains a single coin of Kanishka in its whole lot of nearly 1261 Puri-Kushana coins. The latest hoard of Kushana coins has been discovered near the foot of the Kayema hill in the Jajpur Sub-division of the Cuttack District. In the year 1948, during the time of excavation at Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar, a unique gold coin of Dharmadamadhara was discovered showing a standing king in Kushana fashion on one side and a Roman bust on the other, and along with this was discovered the Kushana and Puri-Kushana⁷ coins.

The facts behind the discovery of the Kushana coins of the Kayema hoard are very inquisitive and interesting. Just on the day of my arrival at Dharmasala, a village only three miles from the find spot of these coins. I got the report from a villager that the workers employed in digging out bricks and stones had found an earthen jar containing some copper coins. Getting this information in the night, I hastened to the find spot next morning and at first, all my attempts in recovering the coins failed utterly. At last, I was advised by a villager to coax a Sanyasi, living close to the hill as he was a recipient of a share in the distribution of the coins among the workers. I did it and surprisingly recovered altogether 13 coins after much argument and counter arguments. He described before me that there were 100 coins in an earthen jar buried 3 feet below the surface. As soon as the jar was brought, the workers, being impatient in joy, smashed the jar into pieces and rubbed each coin on the stones to see whether they were of gold. When the appearance of copper was seen in each case, they shared the whole lot among

5. *Ibid* p 124.

6. *History of Orissa* Vol. I p 113.

7. *J. N. S. I.* Vol. XII Part I pp 1-4.

themselves and on the same day melted down to make ornaments. Thus the Sanyasi's share, which remained unmelted, was recovered.

It will not be out of place to discuss a little about the Kayema hill, the find spot of the coins. The antiquarian value of the hill is not to be estimated as less. Large number of red bricks ($19'' \times 11'' \times 3''$) together with red potsherds have been found in the hill in course of digging. At a distance of nearly one furlong, stands a dilapidated laterite outer wall of an ancient fortified Nagara, called Rādha Nagara, which seems to be a distortion form of the original name Rājā Nagara. The general structure of the Nagara appears to resemble to a great extent to that of Sisupalgarh near Bhubaneswar. Inside the rampart were found several wells, a drain, a wall of a house and the traces of silted up tanks of ancient days. When the question of these Kushana coins along with the other archaeological remains of Kayema area is taken up for consideration, it appears that there was very likely a prosperous town near Kayema in by gone days.

Let me describe these coins as they are. All are of copper and the size of each coin is almost circular. The diameter varies from $7/8''$ to $1''$.

COINS OF KANISHKA

Obverse:—King standing to left, bearded; wearing peaked helmet, long heavy coat and trousers; extends right hand perhaps over fire altar. In left hand he holds a spear which is not visible on the coin. Blurred trace of the legend remains.

Reverse:—Wind-god running fast to left with both hands raised.

Weight. 213 grs.

(Pl 36 No. 1)

2. Obverse As above:—

Reverse:—Goddess standing to rt, holding something in the raised rt. hand and left hand little extended. Halo round the head and fillets flying near the shoulder. (Nana ?)

Weight 230 grs.

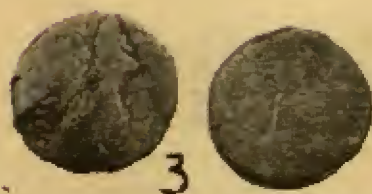
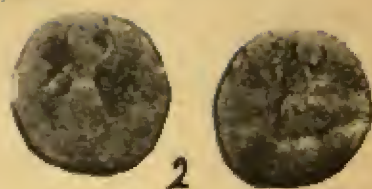
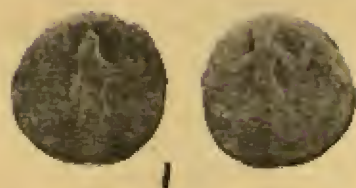
(Pl 36 No. 2)

3. Obverse:—King standing, wearing long coat and trouser and incense over the altar in right hand. Left hand looks blurred.

Reverse:—Standing deity, perhaps Nana.

Weight. 231 grs.

4 Obverse—King standing to left, bearded and dressed up in loose coat touching below the knee; offering oblation at the altar. Heavy boot on the feet. No trace of legend.



Kushana Coins from Kayoma
Cuttack District, Orissa,



Reverse:—Standing female figure, dressed with long himation touching the feet; her right hand flexed at elbow and left hand is little extended. (Nana ?)

Weight 213 grs. (Pl. 36 No. 3)

5. Obverse:—As on the No. 4

Trace of legend remains but blurred.

Reverse:—Male figure standing, right hand extended, left hand on the waist. Trace of legend is seen but quite illegible. The deity perhaps is Moon god. The figure exactly resembles to the reverse figure No. 4, Plate XIII of I. M. C. Vol I

Weight 240 grs.

6. Obverse:—Completely defaced.

Reverse:—Clear representation of Moon god. His right hand extended and the left hand is on the hilt of a sword suspended from the waist.

Weight 175 grs.

Coins of Huvishka

7. Obverse:—King riding on an elephant, right hand bent at elbow and left hand appears as holding an aṅkuśa.

Reverse:—Indistinct

Size—Circular but cut at one side

Weight 212 grs. (Pl 36 No 4)

8. Obverse:—King on elephant walking to right

Reverse

Blurred

Weight 192 grs. (Pl 36 No 5)

9. Obverse:—The lower part of the body of the elephant is clearly visible. Trace of the legend remains.

Reverse:—Moon god standing, right hand extended and left hand on the waist. The reverse figure exactly resembles to the figure No. 2 of the Plate—XIII (I. M. C. Vol. I).

Weight 210 grs.

10. Obverse:—King diademed, facing to the front and reclining on a low cushioned couch. The figure resembles exactly to the obverse of the coin No. 182 (Plate—XIX of P. M. C. by Whitehead).

Reverse:—Male figure standing and extending right hand to the front. Left hand on the hilt of a short sword attached to the waist. No trace of halo remains. Sun god. Faint trace of the legend read as Miro.

Weight 223 grs. (Pl 36 No 6)

11. Same as No. 10. Faint trace of obverse and reverse figures remain.

Weight 205 grs.

12. Obverse:—King seated cross-legged looking to the front. The right hand and left hands on the waist (faint trace). The obverse figure resembles to the obverse figure of coin No. 194, Pl-XIX P. M. C. Vol.-I. to a great extent.
- Reverse:—Standing Moon god to the left, hand on the waist and right hand is extended. (Faintly preserved).
- Weight 119 grs. (Pl 36 No 7)
13. Completely blurred to admit any identification.
- Weight 221 grs.

The above description clearly shows that there are altogether 6 (six) coins of Kanishka, 6 coins of Huvishka and one unidentified coin in the series. They indicate further also that their weights are not equal and vary from 119 to 240 grs. The Kushanas issued two types of copper coins, one conforming to 130 grs. in weight and another to 260 grs. When our coins do not come near to 260 grs, it seems reasonable to explain the discrepancy by loss due to wear and tear in long circulation. As far as the types are concerned, we come to know that Kanishka issued two types of copper coinage i. e. (1) Standing king on the obverse (2) King sitting on a throne. Huvishka issued 4 types of copper coinage i. e. (1) King riding on an elephant; (2) King reclining on a couch; (3) King seated cross-legged and (4) King seated with arms raised. Out of these types, our coins under reference represent (1) King standing type of Kanishka; (2) Huvishka riding on elephant; (3) King seated on a couch and (4) King seated cross legged. Thus we see that the Kushan kings Kanishka and Huvishka are fairly represented in the *Kayema* hoard and many more coins of these kings might have been further known, had the complete hoard recovered before they were melted.

Let us try to examine all available evidences on the strength of which we may be able to connect Kushana supremacy in Orissa. Kushana domination in Orissa is still a problem with the historians. The question has not yet been conclusively solved to command a general acceptance. Scholars are equally divided in their opinion on this issue. Some believe with doubts and some not at all. Whatever may be the fact, it appears as certain from the discovery of Kushana coins in large number in eastern Orissa that Kanishka and Huvishka ruled over the territory for some period. Since copper coins do not travel long, and the question of their travel with the pilgrims seems far-fetched, the acceptance of the above view appears highly plausible.

Speculations about the subjection of a country by a particular monarch can fairly be conjectured when large number of coins of his well-known types are found or discovered in a locality. Accordingly chance discoveries of Kushana coins in coastal Districts of Orissa have several times been made. Hence to determine the extent of Kushana dominion into Orissa on account of their being discovered will not be unreasonable.

Let me describe how far the finds of the provenance of Kushana coins furnish a territorial continuity supporting the view of Kushana domination in Orissa. They are Kumhar Bulandibag, Buxar, Vaisali and Ranchi District in Bihar and in Orissa they are in Mayurbhanja, Keonjhar, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam. On the basis of the provenances in Bihar and other archaeological evidences, it has been now settled by Dr. Altekar⁸ that Bihar was under the control of the Kushanas till c. 140 A. D. Closely lie to Bihar, the Districts of Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar and other Districts come in succession to each other. Persons familiar with the localities of Bihar and Orissa can easily understand how the continuity extends. Hence it seems highly possible to conjecture that Kushana supremacy extended from Bihar through Mayurbhanj and Keonjhar to the coastal territories of Orissa and therefore the balance of probability tilts in favour of explaining satisfactorily as to why the coins under discussion have been largely found in various parts of Orissa.

Moreover, the examination of these coins reveal two important points regarding the composition of the hoard. The hoard exclusively contains the coins of Kanishka and Huvishka. The abundance of their usual coin types show (1) that they were current at the time of their being buried; (2) that they were the currency of Kayema area. Similar coins of Kanishka and Huvishka were found in Mayurbhanj Puri and Ganjam and thereby it is proved that they were also current in these areas. Hence the territories from Mayurbhanj upto the end of Ganjam District had these Kushana coins as currency eventually. As regards the date of burial of the present hoard, it can be well assumed without any difficulty that these coins were buried towards the end of the reign of Huvishka as not a single specimen of coin of Vasudeva is found in the hoard. Huvishka died in c. 148-52 A. D. and after his death the Kushana empire began to decline.⁹

8. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XII part II pp. 121-23.

9. *J. N. S. I.*, Vol. XIV p 63.

Now the question arises "Who was the Kushana ruler responsible to include the Orissa territory in his empire?" We have got no sufficient data to answer the question. It has been shown above that the coins of Kanishka and Havishka have been found in Mayurbhanj and Kayema hoards. As Kanishka was the predecessor of Huvishka, Kanishka is naturally supposed to be responsible to annex Orissa into his kingdom.

Another question comes in "How did he annex Orissa when epigraphic evidences are nill up till now?" It is true that there is no archaeological evidence to support the annexation. But there is one recorded tradition in *Mādālā Pāñji* (Temple chronicle) that the Śakas ruled over Orissa from 48-78 A. D.¹⁰. Stirling has also referred to the fact that "A Yavan dynasty then ruled over Orissa for the space of 146 years". Thus were completed years 396 of the Samabda'. So it appear that $396 + 79 = 474 - 146 = 328$ A. D. was the beginning of Yavana rule and 474 A. D. was the end of their rule. These two dates appear untenable in view of the fact that Samudragupta conquered the mountainous parts of Orissa towards the middle part of 4th century A. D. The former date 474 A.D. also likewise is unreliable. Though the dates do not stand in harmony with the historical events, still it can be believed with much probability that a substratum of truth underlies the statements in *Mādālā Pāñji*. Had not there been a foundation in fact in the bygone days, [the writers of the almanac might not have recorded the Yavana rule and the subsequent discoveries of Kushana coins might not have been made. So, it goes without saying that Orissa was most probably annexed in the beginning of the reign of Kanishka to the Kushana empire perhaps by the Viceroy-Commander-in-Chief stationed at Bihar. But we do not know the name of the actual victor in the present state of knowledge.

Then who was the ruler in Orissa whom Kanishka defeated through a Viceroy? In regard to the question, I assemble the following facts in order to infer a plausible answer. While writing on the date of Kharavela, N. N. Ghose has conclusively proved, with reasons advanced, that the accession year of Kharavela was 19 B.C. and the date of Hatigumpha inscription was 5 B.C.¹². How many years more Kharvela reigned after the incision of Hatigumpha inscription we do not know from any source. The Patalapura cave¹³ inscription at Khandagiri in Bhubaneswar mentions

10. *Prachina Utkala* (Oriya version), p 25,

11. *Account of Orissa* by Stirling. p 68.

12. *Proceeding of the 11th Session, Indian History Congress 1948* p—64

13. *Old Brahmi Inscription in the Udayagiri & Khandagiri Caves* p—239.

that Kandapa-Kudepa was the son of Kharavela. Hence he might have ruled for some years, though we are in dark about his reign and achievements. If we will admit 100 years to Kharavela and his effete successor then 80 or 81 A. D. we reach when Orissa was perhaps subjugated by Kanishka through a Saka Satrap or a Viceroy stationed at Bihar. Kanishka ruled¹⁴ from 78 A. D. to 101 or 102. Hence it will not be wrong to assume that the annexation of Orissa was made towards the last part of 1st century A. D. after few years of the conquest of Bihar.

Another interesting question in this connection comes up, "How long the Kushana supremacy continued in Orissa?" The Mayurbhanj and the Kayema hoards show that their rule continued in Orissa till the death of Havishka. Now his death has been placed sometime between the years 70 and 74 of Kanishka's era by Miss Padma Altekar¹⁵ i. e. 148—152 A. D. As the various hoards in Orissa do not show a single specimen of Vasudeva, we cannot admit his rule over the state. Hence Kushana rule continued in Orissa till the end of the reign of Havishka.

By the way, I may point out here that the Kushanas were ruling their vast dominion through viceroys who were mostly of Saka origin. Similarly, they would have followed the same policy in Orissa. They also allowed the Governors of some territories under them to issue coins in their names to meet the local wants. We do not till now know the dynasty to which the Governors in charge of Orissa territory belonged and also the fact whether they issued any coins in their names. Our hoards, so far have disclosed only Kushan coins in association with a kind of coins that are imitation of Kushana coins to certain extent. These coins have been named as 'Puri-Kushan'* by the historians. Careful examination show that they are subsequent to Kushan coins in time and they constitute a new type of currency in the history of coinage. Change of currency generally indicates a change of sovereignty. I have shown before that Kushan power began to decline after the death of Havishka. It is therefore highly probable that the Viceroy, stationed in Orissa, threw off the Kushan yoke after Havishka and independently issued, the "Puri-Kushan" coins maintaining a general similarity to that of Kushan coins. The Governor or Viceroy was most probably of Saka race, because on the Puri-Kushana types of coins we see the standing king wearing heavy boots and

14 The Age of Imperial Unity p—144.

15 J. N. S., I Vol. XI V, P-63

* I will discuss about these coins in a separate article.

long coat quite distinct from Indian fashion. There are more than three types of such coins available in Orissa. From these it is inferred with much probability that the Sakas, becoming independent of Kushan rule after c 148 or 152 A. D., issued coins till the middle of the 4th century when they are supposed to surrender their right of sovereignty to Samudragupta.

In this connection, I think that I will not be wrong to discuss a little about the use of Gupta era in Orissa which usually indicates the over-lordship of the Guptas as it is customary with the people to use the era of their rules in their grants. Altogether five copper plates have so far been found in Orissa, amidst a large number of other plates, in which the use of Gupta era is seen. They are (1) Kanasa Copper plate¹⁶ from Puri district; (2) The Sumandal¹⁷ plate from Ganjam district; (3) The Ganjam¹⁸ plate of Mādhavarāja; (4) The Soro¹⁹ plates from Balasore district and (5) The Patiakella²⁰ grant from Cuttack District. The Kanasa plate reveals "*Pravardhamane Guptakale 200*"; the Sumandal Plate"; "*Vartamana Guptarajye varsa satadvaye Panchasaduttare*"; and the Ganjam Plate, of Mādhavarāja, "*Guptabde Varsa sala traye vartamane*". The other two plates, in the opinion of Dr. D. C. Sircar are dated in 260 and 283 of Gupta era respectively. Hence these copper plates directly show the Gupta supremacy in Orissa from 519 to 619 A. D. Gupta rule started in Orissa towards the end of c 1st half of the 4th century and the discovery of copper plate showing a date in between the 1st half of 4th century and 519 A. D. is also expected in future. But one question strikes us, "How and when these Balasore, Cuttack and Puri districts etc. came under Gupta supremacy since they are not mentioned in Allahabad pillar inscription?" This question leads us to believe that they were perhaps integrated to Gupta empire after peaceful submission of the Saka chiefs, who were ruling in Orissa maintaining an independent *status quo* after the death of Huvishka. Had it not been the case, Samudragupta might not have left these coastal districts unconquered and unnamed in his *prasasti*. From the political point of view, it is well surmised that Samudragupta might have appointed Hindu Governors in place of Saka chiefs and as a result of this innovation we see Hindu Governors administering different parts of Orissa under the Guptas even up to the beginning of the 7th century A. D.

16. J. K. H. R. S. Vols. II, pp 264-66.

17. E. I. Vol. XXVIII, pp. 79-35

18. *Ibid* Vol. VI pp. 143-46

19. E. I. Vol—XXIII, pp 197-293.

20. *Ibid* Vol—IX, pp 285.

Thus, from the specimens of Kayema hoard, these following facts naturally follow :—

1. The then Kalinga remained under the dynasty of Khāravela till the last quarter of c 1st century A. D., then under the Imperial Kushanas till c. 148-52 A. D.; then under the independent Kushan Governors till the middle of the 4th century A. D., and then under the Gupta Governors till the 1st part of 7th century.
 2. Kanishka, perhaps after the conquest of Bihar, brought the then Kalinga under submission after defeating probably through his Governor a ruler of *Chedi Rajavansa* who sank into insignificance as a power at that time.
 3. Kanishka and Huvishka ruled Orissa through Governors from C last quarter of 1st century A. D. till the middle part of 2nd century A. D.
 4. Orissa was lost to Vasudeva as a single coin of him is not found in any of the hoards discovered so far in the state.
 5. The Kushan Governors stationed in Orissa perhaps got best opportunity after the death of Huvishka to become independent and to issue coins in imitation of the coins of their masters.
 6. That Samudragupta succeeded in dislodging the Kushan Governors from their independent status and got Orissa integrated in his empire. The non-reference of Orissa in the *prasaṣti* of his conquest favours the view that he got it surrendered without fight with the said Governors.
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BILINGUAL STONE INSCRIPTION OF THE BARIPADA MUSEUM

By Shri S. C. De

(See plate 37)

The inscription under discussion is preserved in the Baripada Museum, Orissa. The inscribed slab was removed by late Gopinath Das, the Sardar of the Sardiha Pargana Sadar Subdivision of Ex-Mayurbhanj State to the Baripada Museum. The exact find spot is not known; it seems, that late Das discovered it near about the village Raikoma in his jurisdiction. The estampage was taken by Sri P. Acharya, B. Sc., Superintendent of Research & Museum, Bhubaneswar Orissa who kindly permitted me to edit it and gave some useful suggestions.

The inscription consists of 17 lines of which 9 are in Devanagari character and Hindi language, while the rest are in Oriya character and language.

The inscription relates to digging of a well by Rājā Basanta Māṇika Chanda in the time of Firōz Khan Lohāni.

The historical importance of the inscription lies in the fact that it is the first inscription so far discovered during the Afgan rule in Orissa and it gives the earliest date of the reign of Rāma Chandra Deva I.

The date of the inscription is V. S. 1645, Saka 1509, *Sana* 994, Aṅka 14, 20th day of the month of Rishabha and 15th *tithi* of the bright fortnight. The week day is Thursday.

V. S. 1645 and Saka 1509 correspond to 1587 A. D. *Sana* 994 is evidently the Amli era which is equivalent to 1586-87 A. D. We find the use of the Amli year during the latter Mughal, Maratha and early part of the British rule. This is the first inscription so far discovered which brings to light the fact that *Sana* was prevalent in Orissa during the short Afgan Rule prior to the final Mughal conquest. The *Sana* year in Orissa is still current and is known in the Oriya Almanac as Dillīśvarābda. The current *Sana* year 1380-61 corresponds to 1953-54 A. D.

When it was first introduced is not definitely known. Since we do not find its use in any of the inscriptions of the independent kings of Orissa up to the death of Mukunda Deva (1568 A. D.), we may not be far from truth if we presume that it was introduced into Orissa by the Afgans, or the Mughals who followed them.

The next important thing of this inscription is the *Āṅka* year mentioned in it. The year is 24.

The name of the Orissa king is not mentioned; since the date of the inscription is 1567, we can surely take the king to be Rāma Chandra Deva I of the Khurda Bhoi dynasty.

Unfortunately the date of the accession of Rāma Chandra Deva is still under controversy. According to this inscription, his date of accession is 1567 A. D., because, the 24th *āṅka* year is equivalent to the 20th actual year of reign of the king. Deducting 20 from 1587, we get 1567 as the date of accession.

The dates in four other inscriptions help us to calculate the date of accession of Rāma Chandra Deva. The details of the dates given in all the inscriptions relating to the reign of Rāma Chandra Deva are given below for a comparative study.

Description.	Saka Year.	Equivalent A. D.	Āṅka year.	Regnal year	Date of accession.	Remarks.
1. This Insc.	1509	1587	24	20	1576	
2. Srijang, Insc. ¹ No. 1.	1517	1595	34	28	,	
3. Do No. 2	1520	1598	37	30	1558	
4. Kasiadi Insc. of the time of Raja Mansingh. ²	1526	1604	47	38	1566	

The date of accession according to inscription No. 1 & 2 is 1567 A. D. while according to the 3rd it is 1508 A. D. and 1566 respectively. Besides, the date of accession is arrived at from the date of another Kasiadi inscription of Raja Kalayan's time is 1566 A. D.³ There is some discrepancy in the calculation of the *Āṅka* year, in inscription No. 4 as pointed out by Sri S. Patnaik who discussed at length the subject in the *Jhankara*.*

1. The Journal of the Orissa Academy Vol. III No. 1 p. 21 ff.

2. Proceedings of the I. H. R. C. Vol. XXII p. 86 ff.

3. *Ibid* Vol. XXI p. 88 ff.

The Añka year of the 4th inscription should be 43 as compared with that in No. 3; similarly the añka year of the 2nd inscription should be 32 as compared with the date in the inscription under reference. As regards the actual regnal year, there is slight discrepancy; it should be 31 in No. 3 and 37 in No. 4. Sri Patnaik did not accept the date of accession of Rāma Chandra Deva⁴ to be 1567-69 as fixed by J. Beams. His main objections were the discrepancy in calculation of añka year and the fact that Mukunda Deva was ruling upto 1668. He accepts the date of 1502 Saka (1580 A. D.) as the date of accession of Rāma Chandra Deva.⁵

Though there is some discrepancy in the calculation of the Añka year, the actual years of reign of the king given in the inscriptions are almost correct as shown above. As a matter of fact, there are many discrepancies in the Mādalaṇṇī for example according to it an interregnum of 19 years from the death of Mukund Deva to 1502 Saka, from 1568—1580 A. D. Evidently the period date not extent over 19 years. The interregnum is only 12 years; such other instances of discrepancies can be shown; different version of Mādalaṇṇī also differ. In view of this, inaccuracy in añka year calculation as given in the inscription may be overlooked when the actual years of reign given there in are almost correct.

Next we are to discuss if Rāma Chandra Deva could have ascended in the life time of Mukunda Deva. According to Ramaprasad Chanda, soon after Kalapahar turned his back, Rāma Chandra Deva carved a kingdom in southern Orissa with Khurda as its capital. It may however be noted that the last two years of Mukunda Deva's reign was characterised by intrigues and dissension among the vassal-chiefs and high dignitaries of the court. The interguers found opportune period during the king's absence in the northern borders of Bengal in 1567 to continue their activities feverishly. In the circumstances it is more likely than unlikely that Rāma Chandra Deva I whose father Danāi Vidyādhara was imprisoned by Mukunda Deva seized this opportunity to establish himself as the king of Orissa. Most probably during the chaotic period of 1567-68 he carved out a small kingdom in the south, as referred to above, with Khurda as capital. Mukunda Deva whose hands were full at the time found no opportunity to curb the ambition of his rival's son. Soon after Mukunda Deva's death he probably openly declared

4. J. A. S. B. 1003, pp 33-34.

5. Madalapanji Prachi Samiti, p. 62.

6. J. B. & O. R. S. Vol. XIII p. 25.

himself as the king of Orissa, though he was formally recognised as such on by Mansingh. It is said that Rāma Chandra Deva was kept imprisoned in some place in the south by Mukunda Deva. He probably managed to set himself free, if he was at all imprisoned, during the chaotic period, and set up a kingdom after enlisting popular sympathy in his favour. So there is no difficulty in assuming that Rāma Chandra Deva's date of accession might be 1567-68. In view of this we can discard the idea of discontinuance of the *aṅka* year for a long period after the death of Mukunda deva.

In the light of the above discussion we are of the opinion that date of accession of Rāma Chandra Deva may be taken to be 1667-68 A. D.

The month and tithi given in the inscription as verified with the help of Indian Ephemeris (Vol-5, pp. 374-381) does not appear to be correct. The 20th day of Bṛshabha falls on Wednesday and the Thithi is Sasṛthi of the dark fortnight. The 20th day of Bṛshabha in 1586 falls on Tuesday and the tithi is dashmi of the bright fortnight. The 20th day of Bṛshabha in 1588 falls on Friday and the Tithi is dvitīya of the bright fortnight.

As regards Firoz Khan Lohāni and Rājā Basanta Mānika Chanda mentioned in the inscription, we have not been able to identify them. In 1387 Qutulu Khan Lohani was the *de facto* ruler of Orissa. In the inscription Firoz Khan Lohani is described as *amla* in the Hindi portion and *amura* in the Oriya portion. It appears, he was an *amir* or a high dignitary of the Qutulu Khan's Court. He was probably in charge of the Mayurbhanj area in the frontier of Midnapore.

The title Mānika Chand we find only in case of Rajas of Tippera of Bengal. Basanta Chanda Mānika might belong to that royal family, but it has not been possible to identify him definitely.

The inscription was discovered at a place which is on the old Badshahi Road which passed through the villages of Raikoma and Rahasgobindpur as we find it in Rennel's map, sheet No. 7 connecting Raj Ghat on Subarnarekha with Phulari Ghat near Balasore. So it might be that the Raja under reference would have got the well dug at the place where the inscription was found for the benefit of the pilgrims who suffered badly from want of water during the summer days. As a matter of fact, in the inscription it is stated that Raja Basanta Mānika Chanda had

a well dug at the place for removing the difficulty of water in the hot summer days. We have many instances of pious minded and munificent rich pilgrims digging wells or excavating tanks along the Jagannath Road for the benefit of the pilgrims.

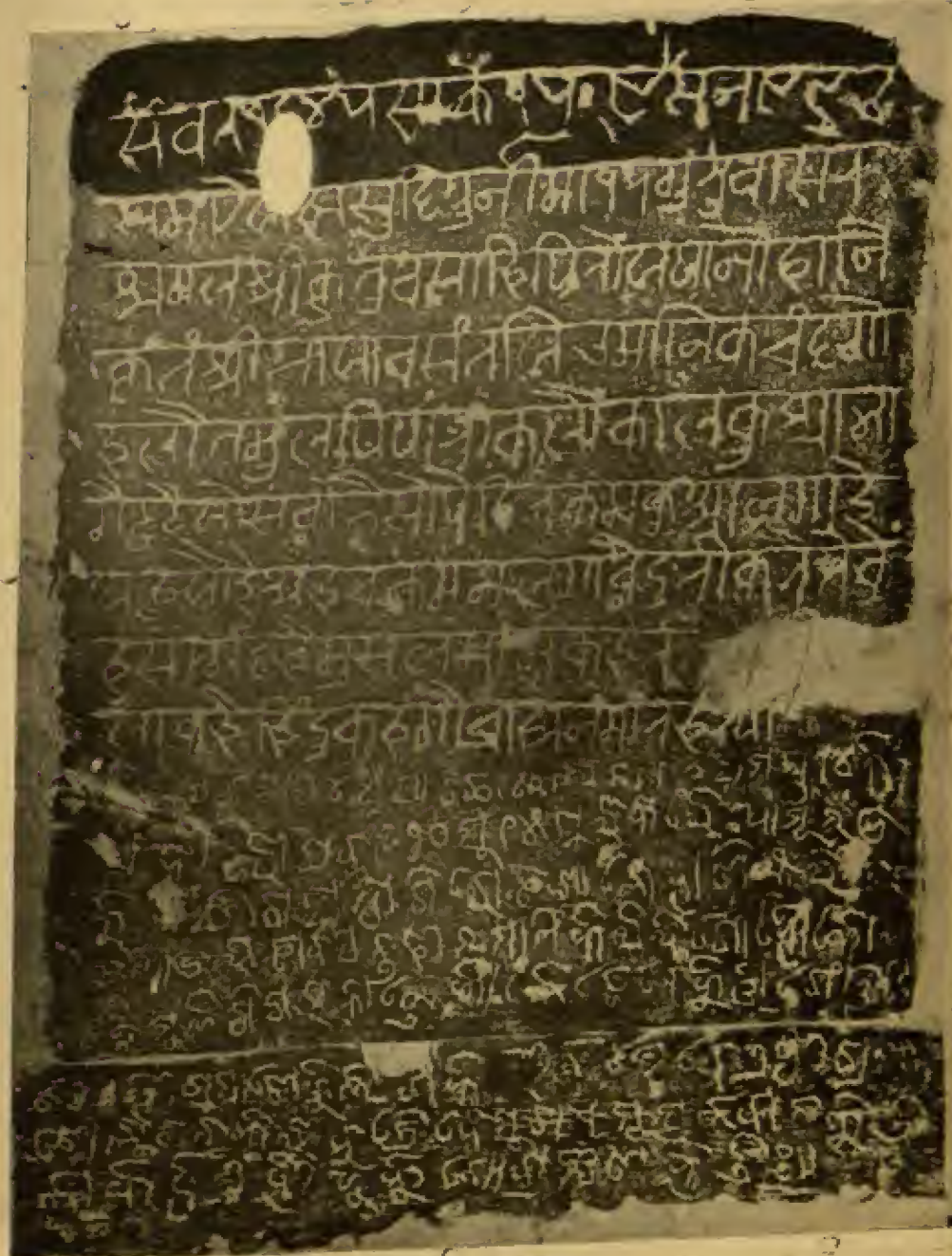
HINDI TEXT

(See plate 37)

१. संवत १९४५ साके १५०९ सन १९४
२. समये जेनसुदि पुनींम १६ गुरुवासरे
३. अमूल श्री कुतुबसाही फिरोज मा(सा) नो(लो)होनी
४. कृत श्री राजा वंसत जिउ मानिक चंद गो
५. हली तमूल पिपरा काले काले कुआ (?) मा-
६. गे हटे सी स बारी से पेहि र(त) क (म्बु)कुमा लगाइ
७. अहु(बु) ? सोइ मह (च) कमन लगावं दुरी करे-तेके
८. ह सोमं दत्त मुसलमान कह त-
९. लाकही, हिन्दु गो ब्राह्मण मार हत्या ।

ORIYA TEXT

संवत १७४५ साके १५०९ सन १९४ समस्त २४ बु
 श्राही रीसव दि २० सू १५ गुरुवारे अमूल श्री
 कुतब साही फिरोज सा लोहणी द्दुर (क)तं
 कुआ श्री राजा वसन्त जीउ मानिक चन्द गोहोला
 तमूल पिपरा काले काले जे कुताङ्गे
 सेहि प्रमाणे कु लग करिव तेवे उटे ? एही प्रमा
 ने लगन करिव तेवे मुण ! मुसलमानकु त-
 लाकह । हीन्दुकु गोब्राह्मण हतः ॥



Bilingual inscription from Baripada Museum

NOTE ON AN IMAGE INSCRIBED WITH RIGVEDIC VERSES.

Sriman Lalsaheb Kumar Prafulla Chandra Bhanja Deo, M.A. (Cantab) F. R. A. I, F. R. A. S. has sent the photographs of a copper image which are published now. Sri Bhanja Deo was able to decipher the inscription. Extracts from his note are given below :

“The inscription on the top of the lotus seat of the icon in question × × reads ‘Atharvā’ in Brahmi script. × × Now Atharvā, the eldest son of Brahmā, the Creator, is recorded in the Vedic scriptures to have first churned into existence, by friction, the holy flame of the alter from the blue lotus of Heaven ; (‘Pushkaram’ meaning both the blue lotus and the sky). This brings me to the first verse of the Rgvedic Mantra (namely the first verse of the thirteenth hymn of the Sixth Book contained in the Rgveda), inscribed in front of the space, below the lotus-seat of this ‘Atharvā’. It reads

“ॐ त्वमग्ने पुष्करादध्यवर्वा निरमन्यत् । मृदोर्विदवस्य व्यधत् ?” ॥

“Oh Agni, Atharvā produced you through friction from the blue lotus of the Heavens, which is the Head of All, instituting Sacrifices.”

The next inscription below the lotus-seat border reads :

“अग्नि सुम्नाये दधिरे पुरोजना । वाजस्ववसमिह” ॥

“This is the 5th verse of the second hymn of the Third Book of the Rgveda and may be rendered in English as follows :

“ ‘For bliss men set up in the past, in front, in this world, Agni, far-famed for vigour (or wealth or sacrificial food.)’

×

×

×

×

“The entire fifth verse of the second hymn Third Rgvedic Book has not been inscribed here.

"The third inscription on the pedestal of the Atharvā's lotus-seat runs as follows :

"त्वमग्ने रुद्रो असुरो महो दिवस्त्वम्" ।

"The above text constitute the six verse of the first hymn of the Second Book of the R̥gveda.

"The above verse may be translated as follows :

" 'Oh, Agni, you are Rudra, who is no onther than 'Asura' Himself, You are the lustre of Heaven.' "

The two illustration of the image e.g. the front back and the side views (see plate 38) give the exact reproduction of the workmanship of the image.

Sriman Bhanja Deo has written also that the image found its way to the palace of the ex-Bastar State where it was worshipped as the deity of Śiva from Panyan in Uttar Pradesh by his step mother-in-law who is said to have obtained the image from her Nepalese mother. Thus it seems that this Tibetan image was originally in the Raj family of Nepal.

The plate reproduced here from the estampages of the inscription gives the forms of the Brahmi letters used in writing the Vedic text (Plate 39). Credit goes to Sriman Lalsaheb Kumar P. C. Bhanja Deo for deciphering the inscription of the image. Sri Satyanarayan Rajaguru, the Assistant Curator in charge of the Epigraphic collection of the Orissa Museum has added the following note with a comparative chart of Brahmi letters of the inscription.

Note on the Palaeographical aspect of the Atharvan-Image Inscription

"The image named 'Atharvā' contains a line of writing in the Brahmi charecters, engraved on the lower belt of its pedestal. The learned editor, while deciphering the inscription and dealing with its iconographic aspect, did not discuss the point of palaeography to fix the approximate period of the inscription. I, therefore, avail the opportunity of dealing with its palaeography. It is not out of place to point out that the stylistic moulding of the image apparently belongs to a later age as compared with that of the scripts used in it. The question is how and why this kind of discrepancy had occurred ? It cannot be explained



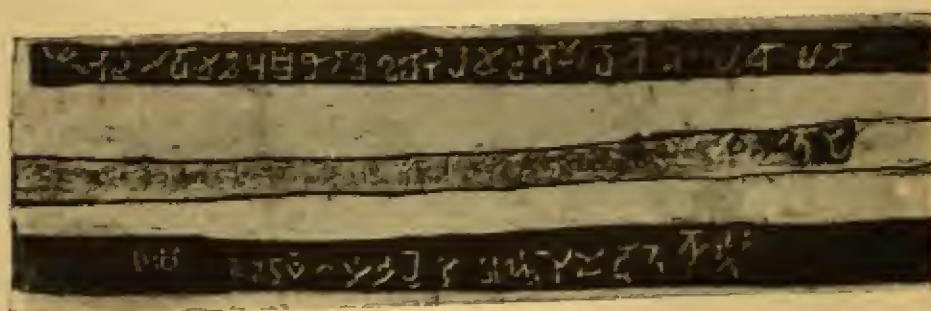
(a) front view



(b) side view



(a) Lotus pedestal of the Atharvā image



(b) Facsimile print of the Vedic inscription of the Atharvā image

A Comparative study of palaeography of the Atharvā image inscription.

अ	ग	घ	ङ	च	ज	झ	ञ	ट	ठ	ड	ढ	न	स	श	ष	ह
५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५
५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५
५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५
५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५
५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५
५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५	५

- No. 1. The present scripts, (About 1st century A. D.)
 No. 2. The Girnar inscription of Aśoka, 3rd century B. C.
 No. 3. The Bhattiprolu inscription, 2nd century B. C.
 No. 4. The Mathurā inscription of kushāna kings, 1st & 2nd century A. D.
 No. 5. The Nāsik inscription of Dakṣamitra 2nd century A. D.
 No. 6. The Allahabad inscription of Śunudragupta, 4th century A. D.

satisfactorily unless the period of the inscription is determined in a proper way. I enclose herewith a palaeographical chart to study the different type of letters used between the 3rd century B. C. and the 4th century A. D., within which period the characters, under discussion, were in vogue. Beginning from the stage of Asokan-Brahmi (3rd century B. C.) this type of letters had undergone a slight change till it reached the stage of Gupta characters of the 4th century A. D.

I request the readers to compare the palaeographical chart (Plate 40) to know the age of each letter of the present inscription as given below :

- | | | |
|-----|---|---|
| (1) | Letters of the 1st and 2nd centuries A. D.... | च, न, प, |
| (2) | do | 2nd century A. D.... च, न, प, य, ह |
| (3) | do | 4th century A. D.... त, थ, द, ध, म, र, व, श |

It should be remembered that the small horizontal stroke on the heads of Ta, Da, Na, Va, Sa, and Ha are found to have been introduced in the 2nd century B. C. (vide the inscription of Bhattapoli), and the shape of 'Dha' was also changed in that period. Although the round-shape of 'Gha' and 'Ja' letters was retained in the present inscription, they seem to have been in use till the Kushan period. The letters Ga, Sa, Sha and Ha had undergone a marked change in the Gupta-age (4th century A. D.) I am, therefore, inclined to attribute the present inscription to either the 3rd century A. D. or it may be treated as a spurious document. The next question is that how and why the scripts of the 3rd century A. D. could be used in an image bearing the style of a much later age. First of all it cannot be taken as a genuine inscription. If at all it is taken so, we are not able to offer any plausible explanation to take the script to the period to which the image belongs.

Sri Rajaguru's note clearly proves that the inscription is spurious, but it is not possible to throw any light on the purpose of the engraver. The date of the image seems to be much latter than that of the latest form of the Brahmi letters.

Chief Editor

OBITUARY NOTE

On the 7th August 1953 Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Bahadur, the Senior Raja of Tekkali, breathed his last.

Late Raja Bahadur L. N. H. Jagadeb was of a charming personality as well as a versatile scholar. He contributed a large number of historical research papers in English and Oriya. By his death Orissa has lost a historian born in one of the Ruling families of Orissa. Late Raja Bahadur was a member of the Advisory Committee of the Research Section since 1950 and the Committee passed the following resolution in the meeting held on the 6th January, 1954.

"The members of the Advisory Committee of the Research Section express their sense of deep sorrow at the sad demise of the late Lakshminarayan Harichandan Jagadeb, Raja Bahadur of Tekkali a non-official member of this Committee."

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System of transliteration —

A. Sanskrit Notations.

अ=a आ, I=ā इ, i=i ई, ī=ī उ, =u ऊ, ū=ū

ऋ, ॠ=ī ए, e=e ऐ, ai=ai ओ, o=o औ, au=au

(Anusvāra)=ṁ : (Visarga)=ḥ

Jihvāmūliya=X

Avagraha=’

क ख ग घ ङ = ka kha ga gha ṅa

च छ ज झ ञ = cha chha ja jha ṇa

ट ठ ड ढ ण = ṭa ṭha ḍa ḍha ṇa

त थ द ध न = ta tha da dha na

प फ ब भ म = pa pha ba bha ma

य र ल व = ya ra la va

श ष स ह = śa sha sa ha’

ळ = ḷa

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Appendix A

1. Persian inscriptions of the Mosque at Pipli :—

۷۸۶

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

که از عدل بند بر جانش شفیق	به عهد شهسوار اور اورنگ زیب
که توفیق یزدانش آید رفیق	جهان کمالات عبدالعزیز
که وصفش نیاید برائے دقیق	بنا کرد در یسلی مسجد
به تاریخ او شد به فکر عمیق	تظیرش جو نامد خود را به چشم
ز طو بابا بیت العقیق	بزد حرف تاریخ او در شمار

باشد مسجد از عهد العزیز و له عبد الکرم ابن سرزا انصاری بتاریخ یکم اردیبهشت و پنج شهر رمضان سنه ۱۰۸۵ هـ

Appendix B

2. Persian inscriptions on the Astana of Hazrat Syed Sultan at Pipli :—

۷۸۶

بقی لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله - تاریخ دهم محرم الحرام سنه ۱۶ جلوس
 محمد شاه بادشاه مغازی در هنگام صوبه داری نواب محمد تقی خاں بسا و ر با اتمام بنده
 درگاه خلایق بنام شیخ فتح الله ولد نصیح الله ساکن قصبه او نام سرکار للمینو صوبه
 اوده این مکان آستانه عالی ترتیب یافت -

Appendix IV

LECKIE'S 'JOURNAL' IN ORISSA OF 1790

NOTE

The following account was first published by G. F. Leckie, the brother of LECKIE, the author of the account on the 14th April 1800. The same was reprinted in the book entitled **"Early European Travellers in the Nagpur Territories in 1924"** which was published at the Government Press Nagpur under the heading of **"Journal of a route to Nagpore by the way of Cuttack, Burrosamber, Dungaghur and the southern Bunjare Ghaut in the months of March, April, May to the 3rd June 1790"**.

Leckie travelled in Orissa by stages from Midnapur from the 17th March 1790 to Borasambar the western border of Orissa where he camped on the 12th May 1790. His Journal of this period of nearly two months deals mainly with the different parts of Orissa in 1790 when Orissa was under the sway of the Maratthas of Nagpur.

Leckie's Journal is full of materials for the contemporary history of Orissa during the last quarter of the 18th century A. D.

Chief Editor

Journal of a Route to Nagpore by the way of Cuttac, Burrosumber,
Dongur Ghur and the Southern Bunjare Ghaut, in the months of March, April,
May, to the 3rd June. 1790.

The following sheets are a Journal which my brother, when very young, kept, and intended only for my perusal; but as it appears that the route he took was through a part of India left blank in Major Rennell's Map, and laid down as little known to Europeans, it is offered to the Public in some measure to fill the chasm, until more perfect materials shall be produced towards completing that celebrated work.

14th April, 1800.

G. F. LECKIE,

Sunday, March 7.

Departed from Calcutta at six in the evening, and arrived at Pulta Ghaut at nine o'clock.

Sunday 14. To Midnapore.

Monday 15. Halted.

Tuesday 16. Halted.

Wednesday 17. To Mookrimpoor¹. (16 Miles)

Thursday 18. To a small village beyond Narriangurh². (14 Miles)

Friday 19. Two miles beyond Dantoon³, on the banks of a tank,

Saturday 20. Passed through Jellapore⁴; crossed the Soobunreka⁵, and encamped to the S. W. of Colonel Cockerell's detachment. My elephant unfortunately run a piece of Bamboo into his foot, and I should have been unable to have proceeded had it not been for the civility of Colonel Cockerell, who ordered me a camp elephant to Balasore. (16 Miles)

Sunday 21. The road was uneven, over fields, and as we advanced into the Merhattah⁶ territory there was less appearance of cultivation and inhabitants. We crossed two or three nullahs, or rivulets, and passed the Chokey⁷, or Station of Busta⁷, to the right: there are only a few horsemen as a guard. We encamped at the village of Burrampore⁸, in company with Lieutenant Maxwell, Ensigns Stokoe and Spotiswoode, Mr. Forster having proceeded alone to Balasore, by the desire of Colonel Cockerell, to settle with the foudjar of that place regarding the supplies for the detachment.—Course nearly S. (15 Miles)

Monday 22. The road was tolerably good, and the country bore a more cultivated appearance than what we saw yesterday; we passed the village of Ramchunderpoor⁹, where there is a fort of mud; cross the Saone at the Pollary Ghaut at low water, and arrived at Balasore at eight o'clock. (10 Miles)

1. Mukrampur, 2. Narayangurh, 3. Danton, 4. Jaleswar, 5. Subarnarekha,
6. Machatta, 7. Baste, 8. Badampur, 9. Ramchandrapur.

Balasore was formerly a flourishing port, but their manufactory of the Sanace (properly Sehun) cloths are very much fallen off, both in quality and quantity; and the ruinous state of the English and Dutch factories, with the insignificance of the Danish one, seem to show that the trade is not of that consequence which it formerly was. The government is directed by a foudjar, a civil officer, having military authority, named Morah Pandit¹⁰. He collects the revenue from Neelgurbh,¹¹ and remits it, together with the annual tribute from the Rajah of Mohr Bunj¹², to Cuttack¹³. Morah Pandit came to pay Mr. Forster a visit at the factory, mounted on elephant, and attended by ten horse and thirty matchlockmen. He is a tall, good-looking man, and wears the habit of the Decan¹⁴ Moguls. Few compliments passed, and the conversation turned upon the provisions to be supplied for the detachment whilst it was passing through the Merhattah territory.

As I had heard much, and seen nothing, of Merhattah horsemen, I was particular in observing them. They ride with very short stirrups, inasmuch that their thighs are in an horizontal position with the saddle, which is made of cloths or silk, according to the ability and fancy of the rider, thickly quilted; and they have a firm seat. Their arms are sometimes matchlocks, with swords and shields, but most commonly the spear, which they use with great dexterity.

The country round about Balasore has a pleasant appearance, and my eye was very much relieved by the prospect of the Neelgrah hills, after having been used to the dead flat of Bengal for near four years.

Tuesday 23. Halted at Balasore.

Wednesday 24. A good road to the village of Begunia¹⁵ where we encamped.—Course S. W. (16 Miles)

Thursday 25. Road good, partly through [a jungle; passed a large tank to the right on entering the village of Surrow¹⁶; proceeded to Kauns Pauns Nudde,¹⁷ where we encamped at the foot of a bridge thrown over it. The water of the stream was excellent.—Course S. and by W. (14 Miles)

I could not learn by whom the bridge had been built, but it may be surmised during the reign of Aurungzebe,¹⁸ when the splendor of the empire caused works of this nature to be performed so remote from the capital. Whilst we were here, some bearers, who had been servants in Calcutta, brought us fruit and milk, and were very civil. Most of the bearers called Balasore bearers come from this place and its environs: so they cannot with any degree of propriety be called Balasore bearers, as this place belongs to Cuttack.

Friday 26. Road good; passed the village of Simle¹⁹ and Grovindpoor,²⁰ to the right and left: came to a tank of water, called Ranue Ka Tallow,²¹ at about six miles from Kauns Bauns. This is the only water to be met with till you come to Budrue.²² Proceeded from thence through a

10. More Pandit, 11. Nilgah or Nilgiri, 12. Mayurbhanj, 13. Cuttack
14. Decan. 15. Begunia north of Bahanaga, 16. Soro, 17. Kansabana-nadi.
18. Aurangzeb, 19. Similia, 20. Gobindpur, 21. Rani-ka-Talao, 22. Bhadrakh,

plain, open country, to the village of Budrae; to the south of which, after crossing the Soolundee Nudde,²³ we encamped in a delightful mango grove. (17 Miles)

Mr. Mottee remarks, when he passed this place in 1766 that there was a manufactory of fine cloths: nothing but coarse are now made.

The thieves of this place are notorious. Colonel Peirce²⁴ was robbed in the midst of his camp. We doubled our guards and escaped. Course nearly S.

Saturday 27. Passed, at the distance of a mile, Sautbienne Ka Tallow²⁵; crossed the Toonda Nulla,²⁶ ankle deep. Passed, at three miles, Choracooka²⁷ to the left and went through a stream and serai of the same name adjoining. Crossed the Iye Nudde,²⁸ and encamped to the westward of Daumneger,²⁹ on the banks of a tank of fine water. The country is woody.—Course, first, S. E.; latterly S. (10 Miles)

Sunday 28. Road woody to the Gaimtee³⁰ river, which we crossed where it was entirely dry. We then passed through the town of Jangepore,³¹ which during the Mogul government was a place of some consequence, and there are yet many remains of their buildings, particularly a mosque and mehl serai, or women's apartments, within the wall, of which the present Merhattah officer has erected a bungalow. The following verses will point out the area: (12 Miles)

'May the standard of King Aurungzebe be displayed while the world exists! ! ! The pure Nawaub of high dignity erected a mosque in the town of Jangepore, beyond the power of language to describe, from the dome of whose roof the heavens appear low. Hear, O ye bead-tellers! If you make this place your asylum for a night.'

As the constructor of this mosque was bow Nesser Khan,³² the age in which he lived will serve as its date. The builder, with the vanity of a Mussulman,³³ is very extravagant in the praises of his mosque, though it is very ill-proportioned, having a large dome with short pillars. We encamped, having first crossed the Bitturnee³⁴ and Cassoah³⁵ rivers, in which there was water, in a mango grove on the banks of the latter.—Course S. and by W.

Monday 29. Went through the village of Burwa,³⁶ passed a tank to the left, crossed a bridge, with four centre and four corner minarets, and the Bomine³⁷ and Komree³⁸ rivers; crossed the Gaimkel³⁹ again, passed through the village of Arkpore,⁴⁰ and encamped about a mile beyond it, in a fine mango grove, where we had the water of the river.—Course S. and by W. The road from Burwa to Arkpore lies in a fine broad valley, but the cultivation of it appears to be in a neglected state; but when we consider the system of government of the native princes, which pays little regard to the ability of the cultivator, and the frequent introduction of rapacious soldiery, deserted villages and uncultivated plains become more matter for grief than surprise. (15 miles)

23. Salendi-nadi. 24. In 1789 col. Pierce passed through Bhadrak with an army.
25. Satabhauuni-ka-talao. 26. Its modern name is Kapaldadi. 27. Chudakuti.
28. Is its modern river Reh? 29. Dhamnagar. 30. Genguti. 31. Jaipur
32. Abu Nasir Khan. 33. Mussulman. 34. Baitarani. 35. Kharana. 36. Baruan. 37. Brahmani.
38. Kimirin. 39. Genguti. 40. Arkhpur on the Genguti to the east of Badachana.
41. Joypur between the Birupa and the Genguti.

Tuesday 30. Passed the Burpah and Jeipore nuddees⁴¹ to the right : came to Luckunpoor,⁴² serai ; passed Gopeynautpoor,⁴³ road good : arrived at Pudumpoor.⁴⁴ There is a tank of good water on the left on entering the town, and one of bad on leaving it. We encamped in a mgngo grove, a quarter of a mile beyond it. (14 miles)

Wednesday 31. Road good to the banks of the Mahanuddy⁴⁵ : there was little water in it, and where we crossed, at the Anisa⁴⁶ Ghaut, it was fordable ; but the sands, which are on either side of the stream, are deep, and about three miles, across. We were met on the banks of the river by a party of horsemen, who told us that the Rajah did not wish we should encamp at Nuyeenah Baugh ;⁴⁷ but we explained to them, that we were not a part of the detachment and were going to Nagpore : upon which we proceeded thither without opposition. (10 Miles)

About two miles from Cuttac, to the west, at the foot of a Hindoo temple, the Cutjoora,⁴⁸ separating itself from the Mahanuddy, flows to the southward of the town, while the Mahanuddy, passing under the fort of Beerbaity⁴⁹ to the north, bends its course to the bay of Coojungh⁵⁰ where, together with the Cutjoora, it falls into the sea, insulating the spot in the form of a Delta (Δ). The land, from the point of separation of the waters, on one side as far as the town, and to the fort of Beerbaity on the other, is defended by a strong stone embankment, which preserves the place from inundation in the rains. It is a great work. The stone is of the country : apparently a concretion of land : which is soft when dug out of the quarry, and acquires durability by exposure to the air. There are steps cut in the embankment, and several temples on the Cutjoora bank for the convenience of bathing and performing the Poojah⁵¹ in the rains. But the stream lies above a mile off at this season of the year.

There is a number of brick and stone buildings : amongst which are, the Lau! Baugh,⁵² the residence of the Rajah, situated on the Cutjoora, surrounded by a high stone wall with gateways ; several religious edifices, both Hindoo and Mahomedan, particularly a very handsome mosque, built by the order of Zeebul Nissau Khanum,⁵³ Aurungzebe's daughter, during the government of Ekraam-Khan.⁵⁴ The fort of Beerbaity, to the northward of the town, is surrounded by a wet ditch, about 150 feet broad, which is supplied from the Mahanuddy by a channel covered with large stones. It is built of the stone already mentioned, and the walls do not appear thick or in good repair. There are embrasures for cannon only in the bastions, in the parapet, and curtain loopholes.

From the most accurate information I could procure, I found that the whole force consists of 1000 Merhattah and 150 Seik⁵⁵ horsemen, and 500 irregular foot, little better than rabble.

The Soubahdar,⁵⁶ as he is styled, Rajah Ram Pundit,⁵⁶ is now at Nagpore, whither he is generally summoned once in two or three years, to give in his accounts. His tenure is on the footing of that of a farm : he pays the

42. Lekhanpur. 43. Gopinathpur. 44. Padmapur. 45. Mahanadi. 46. Anisa Ghat. 47. Nayanabagh requires enquiry. 48. Katjuri. 49. Barbat, 50. Kajaog. 51. Paja. 52. Lalbagh. 53. Zaibun Niss Khanum. 54. Ekram Khan. 55. Sikh. 56. Subahdar.

Rajah of Nagpour 10 lacks⁵⁷ of rupees out of the collection, which are estimated at 22 lacks including what is sent from Balasore : the remainder the subahdar applies to his own use, the pay of the soldiers, &c. &c. — He generally returns from Nagpur well fleeced ; for he is obliged to make considerable presents to retain his office ; when, to make up his own private losses, and to realize the usual revenue, the blow falls with redoubled weight on the wretched inhabitants of his districts. Gowraung Roy,⁵⁸ a Bengalee by descent, born at Cuttack, is the instrument he makes use of ; and such is the utter detestation that he is held in, that a poor man will not utter his name, for they say it brings misery with it. — Piles of skulls and bones lie scattered in and near the town : a miserable spectacle ! at which humanity shudders ; and the streets are crowded with beggars starved almost to death. They frequently surrounded my tent, and I could not shut my ears to the cries of wretchedness I could not help drawing a comparison between the wretched state of these people and those under the protection of the British Government ; and only wish that Mr. B. could be a spectator of what I have seen.

There is very little specie in gold and silver in circulation, and the rents are paid in cowries. I imagine the greatest branches of the revenue are the customs, and tax upon pilgrims going to Jugurnaut.⁵⁹ A bullock-load of silk is taxed at six rupees ; and so on in proportion to the bulk and value of the load. Pilgrims from the Deccan pay six rupees ; those from Bengal, who are generally richer, ten rupees. They however are not severe in the exaction when they think the party really poor ; and they make up their loss occasioned by this lenity when they find out a wealthy subject in disguise, which is frequently the case.

Thursday April, 1. Cuttack.

Friday 2. Ditto.

Saturday 3. Ditto.

Sunday . Ditto.

Monday 5. Ensigns Stokoe proceeded towards the south ward, to fix the encamping ground of the detachment.

The Rajah's son, Sudashevaran,⁶⁰ paid Mr. Forster a visit. He was mounted on a small elephant, which he rode with saddle, and was attended by the Dewaun,⁶¹ the Kelladar⁶² of Beerbahtty, the Paymaster of the troops, &c., horsemen and footmen. He is a young man, black and short. His dress was a short jacket of white cloth, with piece of loose fine linen thrown over his shoulders, silk drawers, and a turban and handsome diamond bracelets. He scarcely spoke ; but the Dewaun talked as much as four people. We received them under an awning, and we were all seated in the manner of the East, upon a white cloth spread upon a carpet. The ceremony of the distribution of otter⁶³ and paun⁶⁴ being over, the company broke up.

Tuesday 6. At Cuttack.

Wednesday 7. Colonel Cockerell's detachment arrived, and I went in the morning to be present meeting of the Rajah's son with the Colonel, and accompanied him to Laul Baugh in the evening, to return the visit, Lieutenant Maxwell and Ensign Spottiswoods left us, and joined the detachment, having

57. Rajaram Pandit, 58. Laos. 59. Gauranga¹ Rai, 59. Jagannath, 60. Sadasiva Rao, 61. Dewan, 62. Kishabdar, 63. Akbar, 64. Pan (betel).

been relieved by Lieutenant James Davidson, the officer commanding the escort ordered with us to Nagpore.

Thursday 8. At Cuttac.
 Friday 9. Ditto.
 Saturday 10. Ditto.
 Sunday 11. Ditto.
 Monday 12. Ditto.
 Tuesday 13. Ditto.
 Wednesday 14. Ditto.
 Thursday 15. Returned the Rajah's son visit.
 Friday 16. At Cuttac.
 Saturday 17. Ditto.

During the time we were at Cuttac it was in general cool and pleasant; the wind from the S. E.,; but stormy and rainy in the night.

Sunday 18. *Crossed the Mahanuddy in boats, and encamped in a mangoo grove; situated about W. and by N. from Nugeenah Baugh.⁶⁵ (3 Miles)

Monday 19. I went into the village in the morning, and could perceive where the Cutjoore separates itself from Mahanuddy, which is to the southward of the Dewul,⁶⁶ or Hindoo temple, before mentioned.

Tuesday 20. Remarkably cool in the morning, but at twelve o'clock it became very sultry, and the thermometer rose to 100.

Wednesday 21. Mr. Forster received at twelve o'clock at night Colonel Cockerell's long-wished-for letter informing him that all the detachment had crossed the Chilca⁶⁷ Lake, that the object of his residence at Cuttac was completed, and that he might proceed to Nagpore: we accordingly marched in a few hours afterwards. The first part of the road was narrow, and led through the village, with the river to our left. Beyond that, although there is a great deal of wood, there are some open spots of ground, which are crowded with game; as hares, peacocks, &c. (Mile 14)

The last four miles of the road were full of trees, and the elephants were in a small degree obstructed. We went under a gaut⁶⁸ called Raoutoragurb⁶⁹, and encamped at the village of Nundeilt⁷⁰, about a mile beyond it having Kunderpoor⁷¹ in our front.—Course S. W.

Thursday 22. The first part of the road was rocky and bad. Passed the villages of Ishea⁷², Noa Patna⁷³, and Soobunpoor⁷⁴: the two first are small, and the latter is large. Crossed the river * in an oblique direction, and encamped at Simela⁷⁵, a small village. (Miles 12)

Friday 23. For three miles, to the village of Cutchie⁷⁶, the road was narrow, with trees on either side, and frequent openings to the river. Passed

65. Naginabagh. It is not certain if Nayanabagh and Naginabagh are the same or different.

66. Deula at Dhavalaswara. 67. Chilka. 68. Ghat. 69. Garh at Rautarapur. 70. not identified

71. Kandarapur. 72. Ostia ? 73. Nusapatna. 74. Sarburnapur in Banki. 75. Simlipur,

76. Charchika ?

the villages of Berau⁷⁷ and Golgong⁷⁸: the former about six miles distant from Cutchkie, the latter nine. The elephants were rather impeded by the branches of trees. After leaving the village of Berau the country becomes more open. The Mahanuddy is near the road, and to the right; and there are ranges of hills on both sides of it. The valley is well cultivated. We encamped at Baidishwore⁷⁹, on the banks of the Nulla, which joins the Mahanuddy.—Our course was nearly S. W. (Miles 15)

Saturday 24. The elephant round the hill at the foot of which the village is situated: the horses and foot passengers kept on the road at the bottom, which in some places was very craggy and uneven. We passed the villages of Beerpara⁸⁰ at three miles, Kurbara⁸¹ at five, Budumunt⁸² at seven, Pudmawuttie⁸³ at thirteen, and Cullaut⁸⁴ at fifteen, from Baidishwore; and encamped in a fine mango grove on the entrance into the village of Cutloo⁸⁵ in which there are two wells: the road was very good, and near the banks of the river, and between Budumunt and Pudmawuttie partly over the sands of it. The hills on each side of the river are high, and on the north side the ranges are triple.—Course S. W. (Miles 16)

Cutloo is an extensive market. The merchants of the Deccan bring cotton and other articles; and those from Cuttac, and the Northern Circars, import sugar, tin, copper, salt, and silk. The trade is all settled by a mutual barter. The walls of the houses are built of red earth, strengthened by bamboos in the middle, and they are disposed in more regular form than the houses in Bengal, but are badly thatched. The inhabitants drink well water, as the course of the river lies on the opposite bank, and the water is so troubled in the rains that it is unfit for use.

Sunday 25. Struck off to the left through a field, and entered a bamboo jungle, which was stony and craggy. The elephants and loaded cattle kept more to the right after leaving the field, and avoided the jungle. We then proceeded about two miles over the bed of the river, and returned again to the bank, when the road became better and the hills nearer on each side. There is a single hill to the right, which intervenes between the river and the road, it is high and near it is a chokey, called Cundespara⁸⁶, at about eight miles distance from Cutloo. After passing the village of Lungracunta⁸⁷, a mile further, we encamped in a spacious mango grove, near the village of Bealpara⁸⁷, under which the river flows. Our course was about W.

Monday 26. The road lay through a thick forest, and the hills to the right and left were nearer than they were yesterday. The people say tigers are numerous. We encamped in a mango grove at the entrance into the village of Burrampool⁸⁸. The situation of this place is very romantic: the hills on either side approximating, leave only a small space, through which the Mahanuddy flows in a winding course, and form the pass of the Burrampool, which they justly style the Western gate of the country dependant at Cuttac. This village, and the adjacent country, called Duspullah⁸⁹, for about fourteen coss, belongs to a Zemindar, whose strong situation has rendered him almost independent of the Merhattahs: and the present Rajah of Nagpore, Ragojee, has given up the consideration of his peabkush, or tribute, and conferred upon him the Nisbaun⁹⁰ and Meraukib⁹¹ colours and arms, on condition that he

77. Not known now. 78. Golaganda. 79. Baideswar. 80. Not shown in the map.
81. Karabar. 82. Not found in the map. 83. Padmabati. 83a. Not found.
84. Kantilo Motta writes as Collo. 85. Khandspara. 86. Langalkata. 87. Beipara palna.
88. Barrampul. 89. Daspall. 90. Nisban. 91. Muratib, (bongura)

will grant free egress and regress to his subjects over his side of the Burrāmool Pass. The Zemindar's vakeel came in the evening. He seemed rather to demand a complimentary present from us, than ask it, but we told him that if he would go on with us to the next stage, at Cuseumgarh,⁹² and behaved himself properly, we would not let him depart unsatisfied.—He left us, and promised to send guides at twelve o'clock at night, when we intended marching. (17 miles)

Tuesday 27. When we arose, we sent people into the village to get guides, but they refused to come until daybreak, and appeared to be very turbulent. It was fortunately moonlight; and the baggage, preceded by a Jemadsaur and twelve Sepoys, and followed by the rest as a rear-guard, went on without opposition. The road for six miles is very good, without any perceptible ascent; for two miles it is indifferent; and the remainder of the distance, to the summit, for four miles, is very rocky and bad, and for the last 500 yards very steep. There are two hills on each side of the ghaut. When I had arrived within two miles of the summit the moon set, and as I had left all the lights with the baggage I was obliged to feel for the path with my hands; when I passed the tank, called Podumtallai,⁹³ on the top, it was dark. I understand that there is a chokey of a few pykes there, and that it is the eastern extremity of the zemindary of the Rajah of Boud, with whom the Merhattahs have entered into the same mutual contract as with the Zemindar of Duspullah. The descent from Podumtallai to Cuseumgarh, near which we encamped, is gradual and easy. There is a bamboo fort; it is out of the high road. We were obliged to dig for water on the bed of a nullah. There is a tank in the village, where the elephants went to wash, but the water was bad.—Our course was irregular, but inclined to the westward. (miles 21)

Wednesday 28. The road was good: we crossed the beds of two nullahs, which were broad, and passed two villages, the last called Beinaghorau,⁹⁴ at seven miles from Cuseumgarh, and encamped at the village of Pungurha,⁹⁵ on the banks of the river.—Course W. N. W. (Miles 12)

Thursday 29. The road was very good, and in general led through a thick wood. After crossing the beds of two nullahs we passed Ramgarh,⁹⁶ where the country is more open, and encamped in a mangoe grove about two miles beyond it, close upon the banks of the river, which is rocky and deep, and bears a beautiful appearance. At forty minutes past four o'clock A. M. there was a total eclipse of the moon.—Course W. S. W. (Miles 12)

Friday 30. The road was excellent and the country open. We crossed the beds of two dry nullahs, which were broad, at about three miles distance. We passed by the village of Quoid,⁹⁷ to the right, which is fortified in the country manner with clumps of bamboo: we arrived at Boud⁹⁸ at six o'clock.—Course nearly N. W. owing to a turn which the river takes: and it will be found the direction of the road is governed by the situation of the river, as water is scarce in that country.

Saturday, May 1. Halted at Boud.

The Rajah paid us a visit; he is an old man, and of very descent department: he came in a palankeen, and had the Chetz Nisahan, and

92. Kuseumgarh, not found in the map. 93. Padmatata, 94. Bhejigera 95. Panipata
96. Ramgarh 97. Kardi, 98. Boudh,

Merautib, and a number of people attending him. He is a Rajput, and his family has been in possession of Boad for a long series of years. His country is a fine valley, and the inhabitants appear to be rather numerous than otherwise. Boad extends from the Burrampool Gault to the eastward, to the junction of the Tail Nudde⁹⁹ with the Mahanuddy to the westward, and is confined on north and south by the hills on each side of the river. The village is small; there is a bamboo fort. The only remarkable objects I saw were some pagodas, dedicated to the Maha Dou;¹⁰⁰ the figures carved on the outside were very light, and better executed than any thing of the sort I ever saw. It is curious to observe, that in Orissa the bramins do not officiate in the pagodas, but the gardeners. In my walk this evening I met with a bramini, an intelligent man; he told me that the Rajah Muddo¹⁰¹ Soodun was very ill obeyed, and that he received no revenue from his country, and only a small amount in kind for the use of himself and family, which was paid from some of the villages in the immediate vicinity of Boad.

He said it was otherwise during the government of the Rajah's brother, who died about two years ago; he was dreaded by all the petty Zemindars, and received a tribute equal to 5000 rupees per annum.

Sunday 2. Country open, and fine road. Passed the village of Comarhara¹⁰² to the right, at about four miles from Boad. Crossed the Sunkles Nudde¹⁰³, a clear stream, ankle deep: there is a fort and a village near it, called Mirzadhore¹⁰⁴, situated on the either side. From thence the road lies through a thin forest, in which I saw a great number of deer: when we had got clear of it we came on to a plain, on which Byraghur¹⁰⁵ is situated; but finding no shelter we proceeded two miles farther, and encamped under the shade of some popul and dauk¹⁰⁶ trees. There is a jeal and a well of water, which are both bad; but there is a tope near the river side, which we did not see till we had encamped. The Rajah of Boad had sent a man along with us, and ordered the people at Byraghur to sell us provisions; and we received great civility from all his people.—Our course for the first part was due W. latterly S. W.

Monday 3. The country was in general open, and where there was jungle it was thin. The hills to the right and left were distant. We crossed the Bang Nudde¹⁰⁷ at about four miles from Byraghur, and nine miles beyond it the Tail Nudde, at its confluence with the Mahanuddy, three quarters of a mile to the S. E. of Sohnpur,¹⁰⁸ near which we encamped in a pleasant mango tope.—Our course was nearly W. and by S.

The Rajah, Pirrit Singh,¹⁰⁹ a boy of about ten years of age, came and paid us a visit in the evening. The management of all the business is in the hands of the Dewann, an Orissa bramini. They complain much of the licentiousness of a Merhattah army under the command of Bundhoo Jee,¹¹⁰ the nephew of Maipuh Rao,¹¹¹ the governor of Raypore; and the Dewann entreated Mr. Forster to represent their situation at Nagpore, and procure redress.

The inhabitants of the countries which we have hitherto passed through style themselves Woreas,¹¹² or natives of Orissa. They are fierce people, and

99. Tel Nadi, 100 Mahadeva, 101. Medhusudan, 102. The village is not found, 103. Salika Nadi, 104. Murayapur, 105. Bahira? 106. Pipal. Oak trees not identified, 107. Bang Nadi, 108. Pithvi Sinha, 109. Bandha Ji, 110. Maiput Rao, 112. Orissa.

possess a considerable degree of personal courage; they are commonly armed with bows and arrows, or swords; the latter are generally carried naked, and are broad at the end and narrow in the middle. They have a rooted antipathy against the Merhattahs, and frequently boast of the numbers they have slain. The latter are too strong for them in the plain, but they can make themselves very formidable to cavalry in the woods.

Tuesday 4. We struck out of the usual road to Nagpore, which is by Sumbulpore¹¹³ and Saringurh,¹¹⁴ to go by the Burrosumber¹¹⁵ district, which is shorter by six stages than the former. After we had got clear of the town our road led through a jungle of low trees. When we had travelled six miles we came to a tank and a village, to the left of the road, called Baunkberia,¹¹⁶ at twelve miles another tank and a few huts. We crossed the beds of several dry nullahs, and water is in general to be found by digging for it. After going through an extent of nineteen miles of jungle and wood, and passing two deserted villages, I arrived at Lachinpoor,¹¹⁷ and sat down in expectation that the party would come up; but after waiting two hours, a servant came and told me that Mr. Forster had encamped four miles in the rear. It was then excessively hot, and I rode up to the fort, and requested the Kelladar to give me shelter: he gave me an outhouse to remain in, brought me milk, and was very civil, but would not let me go into the fort. It is of mud. The country round about is open: there is a stream of water about half a mile to the north of the fort, and a tank of fine water near it. I remained till near five o'clock, and returned where Mr. Forster was encamped under some peepul-trees. They had been obliged to dig for water in the bed of nullah.—Our course was W. and by N.

Wednesday 5. We passed through less jungle to-day. The hills to the right scarcely discernible; those to the left near. We passed a deserted village, after having travelled about ten miles, and encamped at another deserted village, called Tintulgoun¹¹⁸, situated on the banks of the Aung Nudde¹¹⁹, opposite to which there is another village, called Dongrapalle¹²⁰. The channel of the Aung Nuddee is about 200 yards broad. There are only pieces of standing water at this season, which are very good. The guides informed me the source is to the westward, at a great distance. The country appears to have been cultivated to the extent of some miles round this village, and it is only a few months since the inhabitants have fled into the hills, which was at the approach of Bundhoo Jee's army. (12 Miles)

Thursday 6. The road lay through an open country. After advancing about four miles, we came to Hurbunga¹²¹, which we found totally deserted; and a mile beyond it, we saw Moorsond¹²² in the same condition. Here the guides from Luchee¹²³ fell on their knees, and said they would go on if we ordered them, but that they would return at the peril of their lives. They pointed out the road, which was straight and well beaten, and we went on alone to a village called Saulebautte,¹²⁴ where we found one family and we persuaded the master of it, after much entreaty, to show us the road to the next village. He conducted us to Phasur¹²⁵, where we procured two men, who brought us on to Coorka.¹²⁶ This village did not appear to have been long deserted, and I imagine the people must have left it at our approach. We instantly placed a

113. Sambalpur, 114. Sarangarh, 115. Borasamhar, 116. Bankabira.
117. Lachipur on the Ang, 118. Teutulgaon, 119. Ang Nadi, 120. Dongaripali,
121. Hurbunga, 122. Moorsund, 123. Luchipur, 124. Saiebhata, 125. Not found in the map.
126. Duduka,

guard of Sepoys to prevent our servants from pulling down the houses for firewood; and we sent the Bunnies¹²⁷, or grain people, with the guides, to a village about three miles off, called Hudee¹²⁸, where they got plentifully supplied with every thing, and I am persuaded, that if any English gentlemen were to travel this way again, they would not find the people apprehensive of being plundered. I recollect at Sohnpoor, amongst the number of persons collected round us, there was a bramin, who made the following observation in the course of some conversation we had with him :—Said he, ' You are natives of a region beyond sea, and have made yourselves masters of a large tract of country in India, and we are sitting round you without dread and in an amicable manner. When the Merhattahs, who possess the same religion with us, come into our territory, we seek for refuge amongst the hills; our herds and flocks are plundered by them, and our temples even not left unviolated'.

I could not help feeling a degree of force in the bramin's sentiments, though he might have intended what he said only as a compliment; and I was happy to find the people in general impressed with a good opinion of the justice of the British government in India.—Our course to this village was west.

N. B. There are several roads which turn off to the left, but the high road is that to the right. There is good water in a tank and the Aung Nudde is about half a mile to the north of it.

Friday 7. The road was good: the hills on the right discernible, those to the left more distant. We crossed the bed of the Moneadur Nullah¹²⁹ about two miles from Doorka, and the Aung Nudde at six. Two miles further went through Anglypore¹³⁰ where our people got supplied with grain: passed by Babopaulle,¹³¹ where there were only a few huts, and encamped at a deserted village, two miles beyond it called Tellingapaulle,¹³² to the southward of which is the Aung Nudde. The country was in general open, and appeared favourable for cultivation, and where there was jungle it was thin. We saw several herds of deer with fine branching horns.—Course to Anglypore W.: from thence S. W. (12 Miles).

Saturday 8. Passed Sarungpore¹³³ at nine miles from Tellingapaulle, and Jumlah¹³⁴ (where the Bunnies got supplied with grain), at twelve and encamped at Donga Ghaut¹³⁵, to the S. W. of which we again met with the Aung Nudde. The country is open, there are marks of cultivation in many places, and we saw some large drove of cattle.—Our course for the first ten miles was N. W.: latterly S. W. (16 Miles).

Sunday 9. Crossed the Aung Nudde; passed Poalgoun¹³⁶ to the left, at about two miles, and Bobra¹³⁷ at seven. Crossed the bed of the Komrea Nudde¹³⁸ at ten, and encamped in a fine grove of bur, tamarind, and peepul trees, called Burkale¹³⁹ near which there is a feal of water. The road was good, and lay in general through a thin jungle. The hills to the left very near.—Course W. S. W.

Monday 10. Crossed the Komrea Nudde. The road from thence had a wild appearance, and led through a forest over a low ghaut at the foot of the hills for near eight miles, at which distance the road leads off to the left

127. Banias, 128. Haldi, 129. Not shown in the map, 130. Agalpur on the left bank of the Ang, 131. Babupali, 132. Telampali, 133. Sarangpur, 134. Jamuria, 135. Dangaghat, 136. Not shown, 137. Not shown, 138. Kumrenadi, 139. Burkel.

to the hill on which the Burrosumber Rajah lives. There is no water to be met with except in one place, near two miles beyond the road which leads to Burrosumber. Mr. Forster and myself having procured guides took one, and proceeded beyond the people; but he, mistaking the road, conducted us to a small village, inhabited by mountaineers, who fled at our appearance, but returned again in about two hours, making a most hideous noise, dancing, and beating their axes on the ground. We judged the shouting would bring more; and, as we had only a few servants with us, we thought it best to attempt a retreat without bloodshed: but we found at this crisis that the horses were gone to water about half a mile off, and that these savages were ready to draw their bowstrings, and we were obliged to present our firelocks to restrain them. In the mean time our horses coming up, we sent the palankeens on first, and kept in the rear ourselves on horseback, as it was the only quarter from which they could attack us, and we fortunately got into the high road, after going through two or three miles of bamboo jungle which they fired, no doubt with an intention to cut off our road. Their language was almost unintelligible to us: but it should appear from the frequent use of the word "Burgah"¹⁴⁰ that they took us for Merhattahs, which it implies, and perhaps expected that we should plunder their village. We found the people encamped on the banks of the Teeree Nullah¹⁴¹ a running stream, which flows to the right. There was a good shade.—Our course was S. W.

N. B. There is water to the right and left of the road for three miles before you come to the nullah. Travellers ought to be careful in going through the country; the hills are full of robbers, and they are a daring set of fellows.

We ought to have stopped at Burrosumber,¹⁴² to have received a visit from the Rajah. A present of some broad cloth and a few trinkets might have disposed him to be favourable to Europeans in future, and been instrumental to keep this road always open in cases of emergency.

Tuesday 11. Our road was very good and broad, and the country more open. We left the hills, and crossed the Aung Nudde at about half a mile from the Teeree Nullah: and at a short distance beyond it we fell in with a party of Bunjaroo¹⁴³ people, who had fifteen bullocks loaded with grain, &c.; they returned with us cheerfully, and brought us to a place called Mussankonda,¹⁴⁴ where there was no village, but shade, and water in a deep hole. This place belongs to the Sumbulpoor country which seems to intrude itself here between Ruttunpoor and Burrosumber.

The Teeree Nullah forms the western boundary of the Berea¹⁴⁵ Rajah's country (the Burrosumber Rajah).

There is a village called Hurriabaub¹⁴⁶ about four miles from the high road to the left of the Teeree Nullah, which is held sacred by the Hindoos on account of a fall of water; and the bramins who reside there have four villages allotted them by the Rajahs of Berea, Patna* and Sarungurh.

140. Bargi (Marhatta) 141. Not shown in the map. It seems to be Khuranadi.

142. Dorasambar. 143. Bunjara. 144. not shown. 144a. Bariba. 145. Haranpoo.

* "A jungle Rajah in the vicinity of the Berea one and dependent on him".

Wednesday 12. Fine open country, with gradual descent. Crossed a small nullah, in which there was water, and a nudde called Joong.¹⁴⁶ Our road from thence for about six miles ascended, and we encamped at Soormul¹⁴⁷ inhabited by Gondes†. The water is bad.—Our course for the first part was W. and by S., and latterly W. and W. and by N. (15 Miles).

Thursday 13. The road good. Went through some jungle : passed the village of Causebara¹⁴⁸, at two miles from Soormul, and Lauplie¹⁴⁹ at four, and encamped at a place called Pundrepauney,¹⁵⁰ where there is some standing water in the bed of a nullah.—Course, first part W. and by N, latterly N, and by W.

N. B. Nurrah is laid down in the map on the high road—There is a place bearing that name, which lies off the high road, to the left beyond Causebara none on the road we went.

Friday 14. The road was good, and led through a thin jungle we encamped at the foot of a rock near a village called K hullaree¹⁵¹—Course W. and by N. and N. and by W. (9 miles)

Saturday 15. For the first ten miles the road led through a thick jungle ; we then entered a fine, extensive, cultivated plain, with the villages of Mahasawon¹⁵² and Beejpo,¹⁵³ to the right and left ; beyond these we passed Karora,¹⁵⁴ where there is a tank of water, and encamped at Balsoura,¹⁵⁵ at which place we found little shade and bad water —Course N. W. (15 miles)

Sunday 16. The road, as yesterday, led over a fine cultivated plain : crossed the Mahanuddy at two miles from Balsoura : the channel is about 300 yards broad. Passed the villages of Pauragaon¹⁵⁶ and Aring.¹⁵⁷ at three and six miles beyond it. The latter is a large and flourishing place, where there are many merchants, weavers, &c. There is a most extensive grove of mango-trees near it. We encamped in a fine mangoe grove on the banks of a tank near Rewa¹⁵⁸.—Course to the Mahanuddy N. W. : from thence W. (13 miles)

All the persons with whom I have had any conversation, both at this place and at Balsoura, concur in saying that the source of the Mahanuddy is about thirty gond cose, equal to 12 English miles, to the S. W. from hence, at a place called Seha wa,¹⁵⁹ and that it rises in a field at the foot of a hill.

Monday 17. The road led over the plain. Passed Nowagaon¹⁶⁰ at six miles from Rewa. It was dark, but I could perceive trees and a tank. There is a number of villages scattered all over the plain, but none that either affords water or shelter sufficient for a large party. We encamped to the eastward of

146 Joong. 147 Suarmar.

† "Gondwana, or the country of the Gondes, extends from about seventy miles north of the Narbudda as low down to the southward as the districts of Nagpore and Rattunpoor. The natives are a hardy, quiet people, and good cultivators. They profess themselves Hindus but eat fowls and do not abstain from flesh in general except that of the ox, cow, or bull. When Amungzebe reduced this part of the Deccan he obliged numbers of them to become Musulmans."

146 Kasibera, 149 Papli, 150 Pandripani, 151 Khalar, 152 Mahasawan, 153 Bijpur, 154 Khaura, 155 Balsore, 156. Potangaon, 157. Arang. 158, Rewa, 159 Seha wa, 160 Nawagaha.

Raypore¹⁶¹ on the banks of a tank, called Bygenaut Ka Tallow,¹⁶² the only good tank near the place.—Course W. and by S.; latterly W.

Tuesday 18. Halted at Raypore.

Raypore is a large town, and numbers of merchants and wealthy people reside there. There is a fort, the lower part of the walls of which is of stone the upper of mud; it has five doors and several bastions. There is a fine-looking tank built round with masonry but the water is bad.

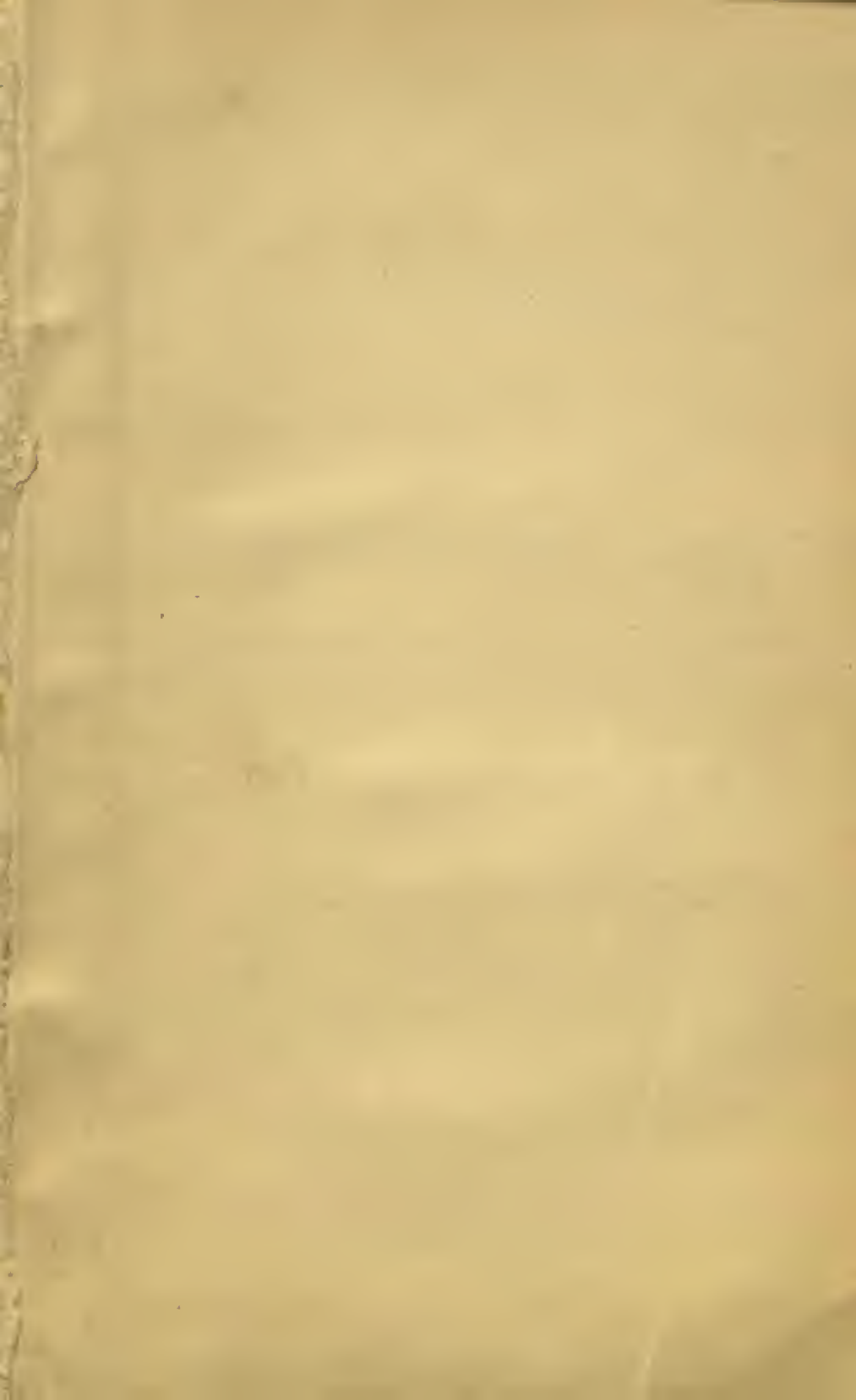
Rutunpoor¹⁶³ is in general a very fertile, fine country, and may be styled, from its plentiful produce of rice, the Burdwan of these parts. The widow of Bembajee,¹⁶⁴ Moddajee's¹⁶⁵ brother, is still alive, and all ostensible respect is shown to her; but the executive part of the government is in the hands of Mayput Ræu,¹⁶⁶ a brahmin from Nagpore. The collections of Raypore, including the toll upon loaded cattle, are only 70,000 rupees, and those of all Rutunpoor not above 1,50,000. During the government of Bembajee the revenue amounted to five or six lacks of rupees; but I was unable to learn the cause of this astonishing decrease. The people were remarkably civil, for it seems that Rajah had given orders that we should be supplied with every thing we wanted.

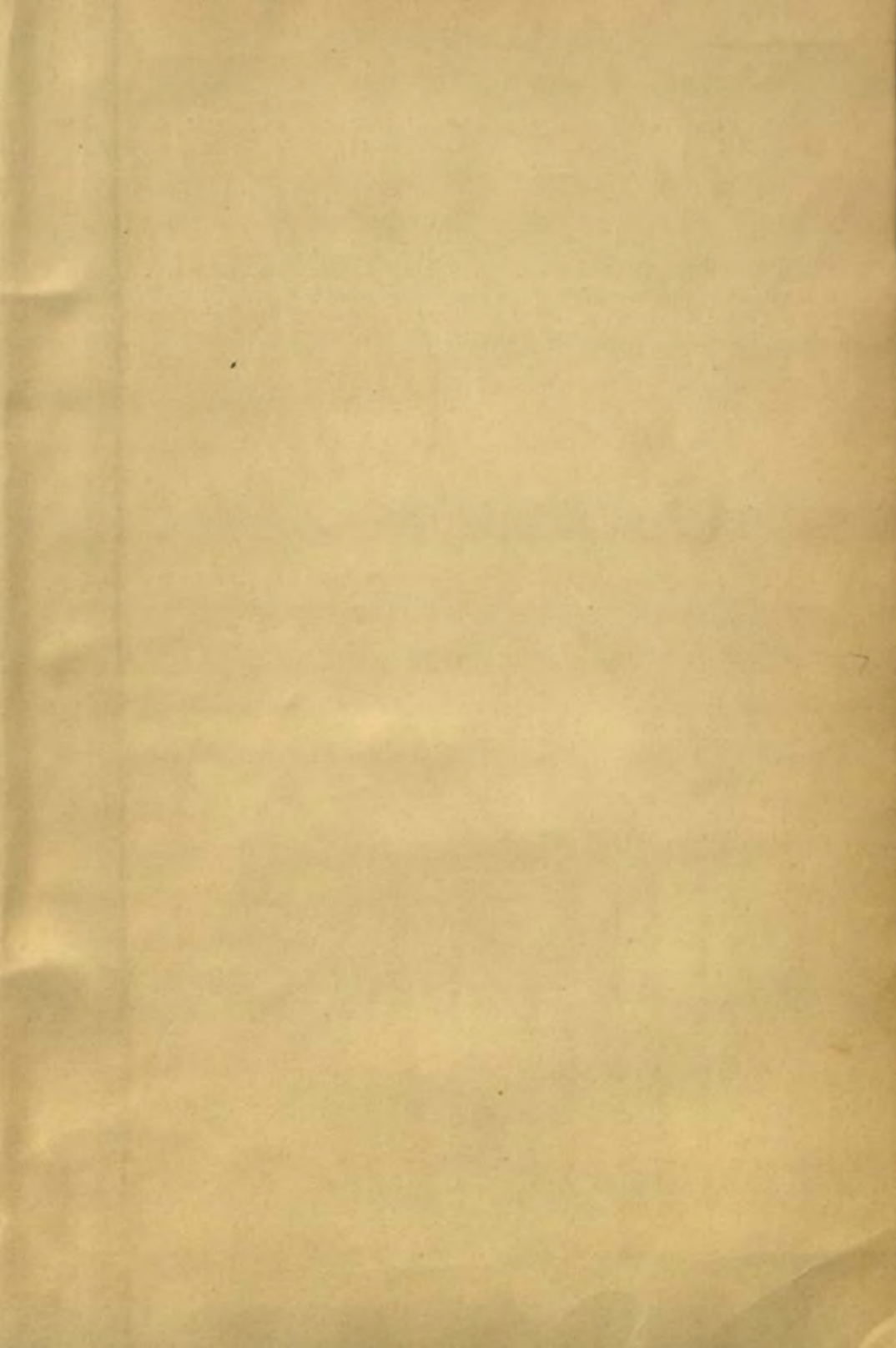
[The party reached at Nagpur on the 3rd June 1790—Leckie writes:—"We encamped in a mangoes grove to the east of Nagpore." As the account in the Journal after the 19th May does not relate to Orissa, it is not reproduced here. Ch: Ed.]

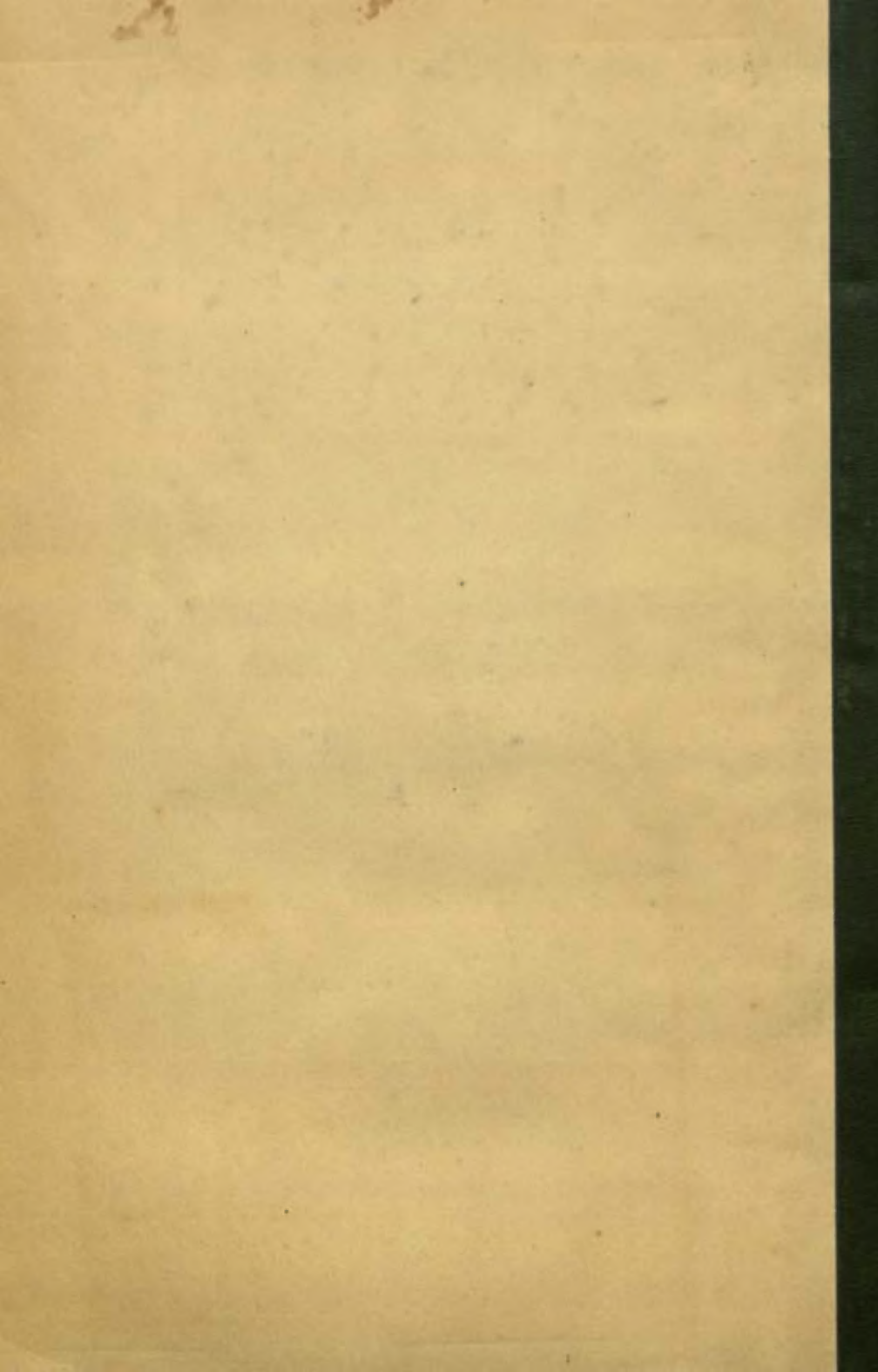
161 Raipur. 162. Baijpath or Baidyanath-Ka-Talao. 163. Ratanpur, 164. Bimbaji. 165. Madhaji, 166. Mahapat Rao.



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